

FBIS**DAILY REPORT
CONTENTS***Eastern Europe*

Vol II No 038

24 February 1984

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

ATA: Warsaw Pact, NATO Exercises Scheduled AA 1

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

Hungarian Addresses UN Disarmament Committee [MTI] BB 1

Athens Conference Ends, Communique Issued [SCINTEIA 19 Feb] BB 1

ALBANIA

Warsaw Pact, NATO Exercises 'Saber Rattling' B 1

Korbeci-Led Trade Delegation Visits Turkey B 1

Meeting With Prime Minister B 1

Radio-Television Delegation Returns From Iran B 2

Use of Nuclear Technology in Economy Noted B 2

BULGARIA

Reagan Comments on Lebanon 'Same Wave as Before' C 1

Pope-Agca Dialogue Proves No Link With Sofia C 1

[Khranov in Sofia TRUD 21 Feb]

Leaders Greet Zimbabwe's Mugabe on Birthday C 3

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Feb]

Zhivkov Remarks to New Peruvian Ambassador C 3

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Feb]

Leaders Attend Soviet Army, Navy Day Ceremonies C 4

Wreath Laying C 4

Sofia Reception C 4

Zhivkov Visits Vidin, Speaks at Conference C 4

Leaders Attend Okrug Party Conferences C 5

Briefs: Fishing Protocol With USSR C 5

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

UN's Perez de Cuellar Concludes Visit D 1

Prague Dinner Toasts D 1

[RUDE PRAVO 22 Feb]

Leaves After Press Conference D 2

Strougal Arrives in Rangoon 23 February D 2

Meets With Burmese Counterpart D 2

Strougal, Gandhi Issue Joint Press Statement	D 3
CSSR, Soviet Officials Marks Soviet Army Day	D 3
Soviet War Dead Honored	D 3
USSR Embassy Reception	D 4
CPCZ's Fojtik Writes on International Affairs	D 4
[cross-reference]	
Kempny, USSR Official View Technical Cooperation	D 4
Bilak Receives Swiss Labor Party Delegation	D 5
Committee Session on Cooperation With Hungary Ends	D 5
Briefs: Pitra Meets Polish Delegation	D 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Reagan Omits Missile Issue at Press Conference	E 1
[Reiss]	
Mideast Policy Remarks Assessed	E 2
[Spacek]	
Nier, Others Attend U.S. Envoy's Dinner for Burt	E 2
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Feb]	
Honecker, Leaders, Soviets Honor War Dead	E 2
Honecker Attends Reception	E 3
Honecker Receives PCF's Marchais 24 February	E 3
Honecker Sends Letter to UNESCO Director General	E 3
Axen Chairs Foreign Affairs Committee Session	E 4
Axen Receives Uruguayan CP Official 23 February	E 4

HUNGARY

UN's Perez de Cuellar Arrives in Budapest	F 1
Varkonyi Talks With UN Chief	F 1
Lazar Receives UN Chief	F 1
Lazar Hosts Banquet	F 1
Leaders, Press Mark USSR Army, Navy Day	F 2
Czinege Greet Counterpart	F 2
[NEPSZABADSAG 23 Feb]	
Korom Attends Reception	F 3
Wreath Laid	F 3
Press Commemorates Anniversary	F 3
Economic Cooperation Protocol Signed With CSSR	F 4
Lazar, Apro Receive New U.S. Ambassador	F 4
Gaspar on Trade Union Policy, Place in Party [NEPSZAVA 18 Feb]	F 4
NEPSZABADSAG on Antireform Enterprise Leaders	F 7
[Foldes, 18 Feb]	
Kadar Visits Scientific, Technical Federation	F 9
Briefs: Letter to Stockholm Conference;	F 9
Soviet Thanks for Condolences;	
Soviet Commerce Chamber Cooperation	

POLAND

Reception Held for Perez de Cuellar 20 February	G 1
Jablonski Speech	G 1
[TRYBUNA LUDU 21 Feb]	
Olszowski Address	G 2
[TRYBUNA LUDU 21 Feb]	
Brazilian Reportage on Glemp's 'Private' Visit	G 3
[cross-reference]	
Sejm Marshal Arrives in Mexico for Visit	G 3
[cross-reference]	
Jaruzelski Attends Soviet Embassy Reception	G 3
PZPR Commission Views Antipropaganda Steps	G 3
Talks on Taxes Held With TU Representatives	G 4
New Passport Regulation Due on 31 March	G 4
Solidarity Radio Broadcasts Message 23 February	G 4
[AFP]	
Pawlowska Views National PZPR Conference	G 4
[TRYBUNA LUDU 21 Feb]	
Social Commission Chairman Interviewed on TU's	G 5
Obodowski Views 'Reorientation' of Economy	G 7
[RZECZYWISTOSC 12 Feb]	
Weekly Cites Hungarian Press on A. Shaff	G 11
[TU I TERAZ 15 Feb]	
Briefs: Mongolian Ambassador Ends Mission	G 11

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Receives Israeli Trade Minister	H 1
Ceausescu Cables DFLP on 15th Anniversary	H 1
[SCINTEIA 22 Feb]	
Andrei Meets Leading Political Figures in Spain	H 2
Madrid Reportage	H 2
[cross-reference]	
Popescu Talks With Flemish Leaders in Belgium	H 3
Parliamentary Delegation Holds Talks in Denmark	H 3
Nicolae, Dinu Meet Bulgarian Chemical Minister	H 4
Briefs: New Ambassador to Somalia;	H 4
New Envoy to Mozambique;	
Oprea Meets French Businessman	

YUGOSLAVIA

Spiljak Interviews Focus on Peace, Middle East	I 1
VOJNO DELO Interview	I 1
Mideast Crisis Examined [MENA]	I 3
Spiljak, Zarkovic Visits to Egypt, USSR Announced	I 5
Zarkovic Visit 'Opportunity'	I 6
Dragan Briefs Businessmen on Trade With U.S.	I 6
[Todorovic in POLITIKA 16 Feb]	
Joint Communique Issued on Planinc Libya Visit	I 7
BORBA on Trade With Libya, Planinc Visit [20 Feb]	I 9

Finance Secretary Returns From Netherlands	I 9
CSSR, Hungary on 'Internationalism' Viewed	I 10
[Djukic in POLITIKA 18 Feb]	
POLITIKA On Hungarian Economic, Political Reform	I 11
[Djukic, 19 Feb]	
Janzic on Attempts To Form Opposition, Attacks	I 13
[Kovacevic in POLITIKA 17 Feb]	
Vlasi Addresses Belgrade Aktiv on Kosovo Situation	I 14
More on Vlasi Remarks	I 14
Serbian Presidency Views 'Hostile' Nationalism	I 15
[Drazic in BORBA 9 Feb]	
Macedonian Assembly Examines Ties With Neighbors	I 17

ATA: WARSAW PACT, NATO EXERCISES SCHEDULED

AU231117 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Tirana, February 23 /ATA/ - It is reported on a series of new military manoeuvres of the aggressive military bloc of Warsaw Treaty. According to the official reports, the Soviet Union and its allies are preparing to begin military exercises of the commandant post code-named "Soyuz-84" which include broad regions of Eastern Europe, from the south-western territories of the Soviet Union, in the regions of the Black Sea to Bulgaria. The manoeuvres have to test the coordinating and organisational capability of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and to control the readiness of the troops and the joint activity of the commands of the allied armies and fleets during the joint fighting operations. As is known, some days ago, military manoeuvres were conducted in the territory of Czechoslovakia with the participation of the troops of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

It is also reported that NATO is getting ready to start soon other military manoeuvres "Avalanche Express" and "Team Work-84".

The continuous demonstrations of strength some time in one region and other times in another region of Europe, are clear evidence of the growing engagement of the aggressive military blocs of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, of the two imperialist super-powers, for feverish war preparations that the USA and the Soviet Union are making in the European territory.

HUNGARIAN ADDRESSES UN DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE

LD240024 Budapest MTI in English 1704 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Geneva, February 23 (MTI) -- Ambassador David Meiszter, head of the Hungarian delegation, addressed the Thursday session of the U.N. Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

He stated that the international situation is not favourable to armament limitation and disarmament talks. Newer and newer attempts to upset the military balance, especially the deployment of medium range U.S. nuclear missiles close to the borders of socialist countries, may entail consequences that are difficult to foresee for the peace and security of the world. However, the Hungarian People's Republic, in line with the other Warsaw Treaty member states, makes every effort to curb the arms race, decrease political and military tension and avert dangers threatening peace. To achieve this target Hungary considers the maintenance of relations and dialogue indispensable.

To avert a nuclear war that entails the destruction of civilization and to work out measures that serve this target -- is the most urgent task of the Geneva forum, stressed the head of the Hungarian delegation and recalled the relevant initiatives and proposals of the Warsaw Treaty member-states which are still valid.

Hungary continues to be ready to have talks and conclude agreements on the limitation, reduction or banning of every type of weapon on the basis of reciprocity, equality and mutual security, stated David Meiszter.

ATHENS CONFERENCE ENDS, COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

AU201729 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Feb 84 p 6

["Joint Communique of the Balkan Conference of Experts"]

[Text] At the invitation of Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, a conference of Balkan experts was held in Athens in two stages between 16 and 18 January, and between 13 and 18 February 1984.

The conference was attended by ambassadorial delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hellenic Republic, the SFRY, the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Republic of Turkey; at the first stage of the conference the latter attended as an observer.

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou received the heads of the delegations, with whom he had a close and friendly discussion, then officially opened the conference and made an opening speech.

At the beginning of the conference the delegation heads delivered speeches of a general nature.

At the second stage of the conference the Greek alternate foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, received the delegation heads and had a friendly discussion with them, after which he opened the proceedings of that stage of the conference with a greetings message.

All the delegations emphasized the fact that this conference is in keeping with the spirit, principles, and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

The delegations presented their governments' positions on the items of the following agenda: general evaluation of the results attained at previous Balkan meetings, particularly in the areas of economy, transportation, science, communications, and so forth; proposals for measures designed to develop and consolidate the climate of confidence, good-neighborliness, cooperation, and security in the Balkans; peaceful utilization of nuclear energy in the Balkans and cooperation in the area of energy; ways and means of continuing the multilateral dialogue among the Balkan countries; proceedings aimed at turning the Balkans into an area free of nuclear weapons, and definition of measures designed to protect the inhabitants and environment in the Balkans against the aftermath of utilization of nuclear arms in other areas. Various proposals were forwarded on the above topics.

It was agreed that the ideas, proposals, and suggestions recorded during the conference should be brought to the attention of the governments of the participating states, with a view to continuing the dialogue begun at the conference. The governments will publish their views in connection with the next meeting of experts after examining the conclusions and results of the Athens conference. Along this line, consideration will be given to Romania's proposal to hold the next meeting of the conference in Bucharest in the course of this year.

The proceedings of the conference took place in a friendly, business-like, and constructive atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation.

The participants in the Balkan conference of experts expressed thanks to the Hellenic Government for organizing the conference, for the excellent conditions ensured, and for the warm hospitality extended to them during their stay in Greece.

WARSAW PACT, NATO EXERCISES 'SABER RATTLING'

AU221033 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tirana, February 22 (ATA) -- The new sabre-rattlings in every corner of the European Continent are making the danger of war more and more imminent. No sooner than some military manoeuvres of the aggressive military blocs of NATO and Warsaw Treaty are over, reports of new ones come in. As is known, the aggressive blocs of the Warsaw Treaty organised military manoeuvres in the Czechoslovak territory recently. Meanwhile, the NATO alliance is engaged in two week military exercises in the northern region of Europe. These days the West German Bundeswehr reported that 8 NATO member countries will begin a new set of exercises in the waters of Scotland soon.

The sabre rattling serves the American imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism as a means of blackmail and intimidation against the European peoples, aiming at implanting in them the feeling of fear and submission toward the USA and the Soviet Union. They want to paralyze the determination of these peoples to oppose their hegemonistic and expansionist plans. The deployment of the American and Soviet mid-range nuclear missiles, which has begun under the mask of the notorious "equilibrium of forces", serve also this aim.

In this grave situation which exists in Europe, where the armament race between the two superpowers is preparing the ground for the outbreak of a nuclear war, meeting and conferences on the "security" "disarmament" in the European Continent are being held. Washington and Moscow want to hide and justify the frenzied armament race between them. That is why they organize and manipulate these conferences and meetings. The war-mongers want to pose as peace-lovers.

Meanwhile, the military exercises continue, the deployment of the conventional and nuclear weapons in the old continent continues. Europe is being transformed into a great arms depot, the explosion of which would cause incalculable casualties and damages. Everything shows that the actual situation in Europe is fraught with real dangers. In these conditions only a continuous and determined struggle against the war-mongering policy of the two superpowers and their collaborators would prevent the outbreak of a new wide scale war.

KORBECI-LED TRADE DELEGATION VISITS TURKEY

AU192017 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Feb 84

[Text] A government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, headed by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, left today for the Republic of Turkey.

Meeting With Prime Minister

AU221030 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tirana, February 22 (ATA) -- The prime minister of the Republic of Turkey, Turgut Ozal, received on February 20 the Minister of Foreign Trade of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Shane Korbeci, who arrived in Ankara at the head of a government trade delegation of our country for talks and the signing of the protocol on the exchange of goods between Albania and Turkey for 1984.

During the meeting, which passed in a warm atmosphere, they talked on the further development of the friendly relations between the two countries.

Present at the reception were the minister of state, Ismail Ozdaglar and the vice-secretary of state for Foreign Trade and Treasury, Ekrem Pakdemirli. Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania to the Republic of Turkey, Gjylani Shehu.

The Minister of Foreign Trade, Shane Korbeci, had a meeting with the Minister of State of Turkey, Ismail Ozdaglar, with the minister of Industry and Trade, Cahid Aral as well as with the vice-secretary of State on Foreign Trade and Treasury, Ekrem Pakdemirli. The meeting passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Talks began in Ankara between the Albanian delegation led by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, and the Turkish delegation led by the minister of state, Ismail Ozdaglar. On this occasion, they expressed the mutual desire to increase the trade exchanges between the two countries.

RADIO-TELEVISION DELEGATION RETURNS FROM IRAN

AU221945 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] The delegation of Albanian Radio-Television led by Marash Hajati, general director of radio-television, has returned from a visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

USE OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY IN ECONOMY NOTED

AU181436 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] Tirana, February 18 (ATA) -- The working people of the Institute of Nuclear Physics, on the basis of the already gained experience have begun the work to carry out more complete and complex studies which will help to increase the production in many sectors of the economy. The nuclear analytics, as a powerful and exact means, is helping in the realisation of these studies which have a synthesizing character. Through this method, the study of the chromium and copper ore has begun to determine the other components elements of these minerals. With regard to metallurgy, work is going on to study the content of the oxygen in different kinds of steels produced in our country, whereas regarding the sector of geology, work is going on successfully to determine the absolute age of the rocks and the geological formations on the basis of the content macadium argon.

The introduction of nuclear technology in the sector of industry is leading to the increase of the productivity in different technological processes. This technique is helping to determine correctly the effectiveness of the change and use of the new machineries in different branches of the industry. Thus, studies have already begun to analyse the technological process of the production of cement, then determine the optimal conditions for the homogenization of the refractory materials, the consumption of the refractory clothing during their use etc. In order to determine the densities of the materials, work has begun to design some nuclear apparatuses.

Numerous studies are being made also to increase the yields of different agricultural crops. Thus, a group of specialists of the institute are working to study and dissolve azote from the plant in the presence of various factors in the lands of coastal areas of the country. The results so far have shown that the way the azote is used plays an important role in the assimilation by the plant, leading thus to the increase of the yield. This study will concentrate also on different types of land and plants, determining scientific norms in the use of the chemical fertilizers.

REAGAN COMMENTS ON LEBANON 'SAME WAVE AS BEFORE'

AU231515 Sofia BTA in English 1433 GMT 23 Feb 84

["On the Same Wave" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Feb 23 (BTA commentator Todor Stoyanov) -- The U.S. policy vis-a-vis Lebanon, according to Reagan's declarations of last night, remains on the same wave as before.

The President declares that he will continue his previous course towards Lebanon, though he did admit that the situation there is not a brilliant one. He did not miss to say that the Marines' mission in the small Arab country is not over yet.

The echo of the offensive of the national patriotic forces has obviously had considerable impact on the American public thinking. This became very clear with the fact that the deputy-Democrat Alexander of Arkansas uttered in the House of Commons [as received] the polysemic word "failure".

Alexander insisted on the resignation of the State Department chief Shultz because of his role in the "Lebanese failure". Reagan, who took over himself the responsibility for the landing in Beirut, defended Shultz with the words: "I hope he is not thinking of leaving."

The Lebanese episode once again showed the fiasco of the policy preferred by Washington, with which the problems are resolved through interference in somebody else's internal affairs. In this case, too, as once in Vietnam, the strong American Army turned out in an extremely awkward position. It is obvious that peoples, no matter whether they are small or big, carry a mighty resistance potential when they are defending their national cause, independence and sovereignty.

The peace built as a result of the U.S. pressure and the Israeli aggression, turned out to be surrogate. The conclusion imposes itself: There is only real peace and not an imitation of it.

The fighting peoples deny imitation as something deeply hurting their sense of national dignity. Already still in one critical situation President Reagan is embarking on another one. He declares that the USA will not allow, with its naval force in the Arab Sea, to cut the Strait of Hormuz by Iran.

The dithyrambs in honour of the weapon which brought greater security, safety and removal of the war for the world, are not convincing.

As for the way out in Lebanon and the Middle East, it is about respecting the rights of the Arab peoples, of their sovereignty to resolve their own problems by themselves. This naturally includes freeing the Arab land from the presence of the invaders who keep manoeuvring in order to stay there for any length of time.

POPE-AGCA DIALOGUE PROVES NO LINK WITH SOFIA

AU231503 [Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 21 February 1984 carries on page 4 a 1,700-word article by Nencho Khranov, BTA political observer, entitled: "Who Sent the Killer to St. Peter's Square?" which argues that there is no connection between Bulgaria and the pope's convicted would-be assassin Ali Agca. Khranov's article is based on a report in the Turkish newspaper HURRIYET by Mehmet Demirel, Turkish newspaper correspondent in Rome, on the meeting between Pope John Paul II and Ali Agca in Agca's prison in Rome, which contains a purported transcript of the conversation between the two men there.

Demirel, Khranov says, came into possession "in a strange way" of a film copy of the pope's visit to Ali Agca in prison and submitted it to analysis by a group of deaf-mutes who reconstructed the conversation by lip reading. One portion of the film, however, Khranov adds, precisely at the moment when the pope is said to have asked Agca who gave him the order for the assassination, has been blotted out. In this connection Khranov says:

"We will not comment on the reason why the film has been destroyed at the crucial point and who is responsible, or whether it happened by chance. We will not dwell on the reaction of the Vatican either." Khranov implies that the reconstruction of the conversation was not as "fruitless" as the Italian newspapers have claimed and adds; "Is the reconstruction of the conversation really fruitless? Does it not lead at least to three important conclusions?"

"I will present the essential passages from the text published in the Turkish daily HURRIYET and will then take the liberty of commenting on it."

There follows an approximately 500-word transcript of the purported dialogue between the pope and Ali Agca, which contains four notations to the effect that at that point the conversation was undecipherable.

At one point the transcript of the dialogue runs: "(At this point you cannot understand what Agca is saying. The pope has bent his head and you cannot see the movement of his lips.)"

"Pope: Tell me something else. Go back once more on this matter.

"Agca: Shall I start with Sofia?

"Pope: Have you been there too? I did not understand this. How did you find the man?

"Agca: Yes.

"Pope: Then it means that you have truly spoken to him and that you have agreed? I would like to understand all the details. Which arguments forced you to memorize this in exchange for your freedom?

"Agca: I assure you that I am telling the truth." The dialogue continues with the pope expressing his forgiveness.

On the above passage of the purported conversation Khranov comments: "Conclusion number one is that the criminal, after telling the story of his crime and after mentioning a number of cities which he visited prior to the attack, is interrupted by the pope who insists: 'Go back once more on this matter.' Agca answers: 'Shall I start with Sofia?' Then, the pope says: 'Have you been there as well? I did not understand this?' Consequently, if Sofia was mentioned in the killer's story, the fact did not impress the pope, or the statement did not contain anything important to attract his attention. Therefore the pope did not even grasp the fact that Agca had been in Sofia. According to the slanderous versions fabricated by the CIA and the other NATO secret services, however, everything is supposed to have started in Sofia. Could Agca really have told the story of his crime without mentioning where his orders were issued?"

Khranov goes on: "Conclusion number two: Another remark made by the pope even more unmistakably demonstrates how and with what kind of promises the 'chief witness' was involved in this disgraceful campaign against the People's Republic of Bulgaria and against its citizen Sergey Antonov. The pope said: 'What kind of arguments forced you to memorize this version in exchange for your release?'

"This is the crux of the matter. Even before the dialogue between the pope and Agca took place, numerous international and Italian press representatives, as well as the Bulgarian public, pointed out on several occasions that this slanderous story was invented by certain special services and that Agca had memorized it in exchange for the promise to be released from prison. The pope's remark is confirmation of the fact that the 'Bulgarian connection' was invented."

If the "Bulgarian connection" had been fully confirmed as the reactionary Western press claims, Khranov argues, then it would have been unnecessary for the pope to ask the final question: "Who sent you to St. Peter's Square?"

Khranov closes by saying: "Unfortunately, if a definite answer was actually given to this question, someone who is involved has taken care to blot it out from the film. The truth, however, cannot be blotted out. This is precisely why the conversation between the pope and Ali Agca, even in this incomplete version, demonstrates at least that neither the Bulgarian secret services (I am deliberately using the slang of my Western colleagues), nor Antonov himself have anything to do with the assassination attempt against the pope."

LEADERS GREET ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE ON BIRTHDAY

AU221251 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent a greetings message to Robert Mugabe, chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF] and prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the most cordial congratulations are conveyed to Comrade Mugabe on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

The Bulgarian people know you as a resolute fighter for the freedom and national independence of the heroic people of Zimbabwe, for the liquidation of the disgraceful remnants of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid in Africa, and for peace and social progress throughout the world, the telegram reads.

With feelings of sincere affection we are following the remarkable successes achieved under your capable leadership in laying down the foundations of new life in your young republic, despite the manipulations of international imperialism and of the racists in the Republic of South Africa.

The telegram expresses satisfaction at the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the ZANU-PF, between Bulgaria and Zimbabwe, and between our two peoples.

The telegram conveys wishes to Robert Mugabe for even greater successes in his work for the benefit of the friendly people of Zimbabwe.

ZHIVKOV REMARKS TO NEW PERUVIAN AMBASSADOR

AU231615 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Excerpts] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, yesterday received Jose Coz Boteri, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Peru to Bulgaria, who presented his credentials.

Todor Zhivkov conveyed sincere wishes for progress and success to the Peruvian people. He spoke on the growing tension in international relations, on the perilous arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons, and on the demonstration and use of force in various parts of the world.

These actions not only undermine international security, but greatly increase the danger of a nuclear disaster, he stated. In this atmosphere it becomes increasingly necessary to intensify the struggle of all peace-loving forces on our planet in order to tame the unrestrained nuclear arms race, consolidate mutual trust and security in the world, and, last but not least, build a durable and just peace for all peoples, Todor Zhivkov stressed. This is how we can describe in the most general terms the international political significance of bilateral relations between two countries such as the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Peru.

The chairman of the State Council also pointed out that our country will do everything necessary in order to ensure a peaceful future for mankind, and emphasized that it is precisely in a peaceful world that just settlements of the vitally important problems concerning development on our planet can be found.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared that relations between Bulgaria and Peru have had certain successes, but questions of further perfecting current relations are still open and new forms of better cooperation must be sought, forms based on common interests, opportunities, and mutual advantage.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, held a friendly conversation with Ambassador Jose Coz Boteri.

LEADERS ATTEND SOVIET ARMY, NAVY DAY CEREMONIES

Wreath Laying

AU232012 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Excerpt] On the occasion of Soviet Army Day, wreaths of respect and gratitude were laid at monuments in Sofia and in many other places in the country. A ceremony at the Soviet Army's monument was also held in Sofia today. It was attended by Comrades Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, and Dimitur Stanishev.

Sofia Reception

AU240910 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Colonel Givi Ordzhonikidze, Soviet military, naval, and air attache in Bulgaria, gave a reception in Sofia tonight on the occasion of Soviet Army and Navy day.

The following officials attended the reception: Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Petur Tanchev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Vasil Tsanov, Tsola Dragoycheva, honorary chairman of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship All-National Committee; leaders of public, political and mass organizations; generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria also attended the reception, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

ZHIVKOV VISITS VIDIN, SPEAKS AT CONFERENCE

AU232016 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] The 12th accountability-election conference of the Vidin Okrug party organization was held in Vidin today. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Petur Mladenov were among those attending the conference.

Khristofor Ivanov, first secretary of the Vidin Okrug party committee, read an introductory report defining the main tasks and trends in the work of the Vidin Okrug party organizations stemming from the 12th BCP Congress and the Varna conference on production quality. The report and the statements by the delegates contained many criticisms in connection with the shortcomings that have been allowed to come about as well as proposals for determining additional reserves, achieving even better-quality production, and further intensifying production.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who was given a particularly cordial welcome, delivered a speech. On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat he congratulated the Communists of Vidin, wishing them further successes and even greater contributions to the socialist building of our motherland. Comrade Todor Zhivkov positively assessed the work of the okrug party organization by noting the significant improvements in the sociopolitical and economic development of the okrug. He also spoke about some basic problems in the development of the country on the eve of the national party conference as well as about certain topical issues of the international situation.

Comrade Zhivkov's speech was listened to with great attention and was given prolonged and stormy applause.

At a plenum of the okrug party committee in Vidin, Khristofor Ivanov was reelected first secretary of the Vidin Okrug party committee.

LEADERS ATTEND OKRUG PARTY CONFERENCES

AU232010 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] The 23d accountability-election conference of the Stara Zagora Okrug party organization, held today, evaluated the organization's efficiency. Pencho Kubadinski attended the conference. Georgi Georgiev was reelected first secretary of the Stara Zagora Okrug party committee.

The 12th accountability-election conference of the Kyustendil Okrug party organization was held in Kyustendil today. A creative balance sheet and a critical analysis of the activity of the organization in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress was made by the Communists of Kyustendil. Comrade Grigor Stoichkov attended the conference. Georgi Grigorov was reelected first secretary of the Kyustendil Okrug party committee.

The accountability-election conference of the Pernik Okrug party organization was held in Pernik today. Comrade Petur Dyulgerov attended the conference. Khristo Bonev was reelected first secretary of Pernik Okrug party committee.

The 12th accountability-election conference of the Smolyan Okrug party organization was held in Smolyan today. Atanas Atanasov was reelected first secretary of Smolyan Okrug party committee.

The 22d accountability-election conference was held in Yambol today. Georgi Karamanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of production and trade with consumer goods, attended the conference. Ivan Ovcharov was reelected first secretary of Yambol Okrug party committee.

BRIEFS

FISHING PROTOCOL WITH USSR -- Comrade Vasil Tsanov today received Yuriy Bystrov, deputy minister of Soviet fish industry. A protocol on the seventh session of the Bulgarian-Soviet representatives in charge of the fulfillment of the agreement on ocean fishing cooperation was also signed in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Feb 84 AU]

UN'S PEREZ DE CUELLAR CONCLUDES VISIT

Prague Dinner Toasts

AU231134 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[CTK/ZR-signed report]

[Excerpt] CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek gave a festive dinner in honor of Javier Perez de Cuellar and his wife in the Cernin Palace. The dinner was also attended by Josef Kempny, Marie Kabrhelova, Vaclav David, Bohuslav Kucera, Jaromir Obzina, Rudolf Rohlicek, Tomas Travnicek, and other personalities of our political and public life. Members of the UN secretary general's entourage and members of the Prague diplomatic corps were also present.

In the course of the dinner, the two representatives delivered toasts. In his toast, Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed that the visit of Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, will become a significant contribution to deepening Czechoslovakia's cooperation for the benefit of the lofty goals of this worldwide organization, the founders of which include our country.

"We would have liked," Bohuslav Chnoupek then said, "to have welcomed you in a better international atmosphere. Deplorably, it is now in a stage of deterioration, and not through our fault. At the same time the situation is being exacerbated even further, as the result of the growing militarism of imperialist forces, which are striving to disrupt the current military-strategic equilibrium by beginning to deploy new American intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe. We in Czechoslovakia could not remain indifferent this threat, and we were forced to take inevitable defense steps. However, one must continue to look for a way out in constructive negotiations. But, as was stressed by Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, the negotiations must be honest and conducted on the basis of equality and equal security."

Then Bohuslav Chnoupek underscored that the CSSR supports every truly valuable initiative for preserving worldwide peace and particularly the Soviet Union's unilateral commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, which was delivered at the Second Extraordinary Session of the UN General Assembly.

"In our efforts to help improve the international situation and to consolidate peace and international security, we proceed from the broad complex of concrete proposals and suggestions contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact countries' Political Consultative Committee, which was issued here in Prague. The draft of the Treaty on the Mutual Nonuse of Force and on the Preservation of Peace Relations Between the Warsaw Pact and NATO States -- a treaty that would be open for other European and non-European states to join -- continues to be the most significant of the declaration's proposals," Bohuslav Chnoupek stated in conclusion.

In his toast, Javier Perez de Cuellar stated that the results of talks with the top Czechoslovak representatives assured him of the effort developed by the CSSR for implementing the UN Charter.

"Not even in the past was such an intensive effort of all member states of our organization so necessary as it is today," he said further. "On the one hand mankind has reached the stage at which it is capable of sensibly resolving its problems, but at the same time it is entering an incomprehensible armament race. We are in a situation when the most important demand is to halt attempts at a confrontation and to establish conditions for dialogue, for negotiations."

Then the UN secretary general stressed that what the United Nations needs more than ever is the active activity and assistance of all member-states for ensuring this goal.

"Czechoslovakia got to know the terrors of war from its own experience. Who else can thus fight against them more intensely than its peoples! I am sure that they will play a constructive role in the effort to change mankind's development in the direction leading away from confrontations and conflicts."

After that Javier Perez de Cuellar spoke about the world still being far from the realization of all goals of the UN Charter, for instance, in closer cooperation among the UN member countries, or in the elimination of differences between the developed and the developing countries. For this it will be necessary to create new economic relations, based on the principle of equality and democracy.

Leaves After Press Conference

LD231513 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar ended his visit to Czechoslovakia today and left by air for Hungary. Prior to his departure, he met with journalists at a press conference in Bratislava.

STROUGAL ARRIVES IN RANGOON 23 FEBRUARY

LD231454 Prague CTK in English 1333 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Rangoon (CTK correspondent) -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal arrived in Rangoon Thursday on a visit to Burma at the invitation of Premier U Maung Maung Kha, who came to meet him at the airport. Talks began between the two premiers in the afternoon. Czechoslovakia is also represented at them by Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle, Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban and First Deputy Foreign Minister Jindrich Rehorek.

Meets With Burmese Counterpart

LD231852 Prague CTK in English 1502 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Rangoon (CTK correspondent) -- Talks between Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and his Burmese colleague U Maung Maung Kha, which opened here on Thursday, have shown that the two countries have close or identical stands on the main international issues.

The two prime ministers devoted great attention to the international situation and exchanged views on such important issues as easing of tension in the world, disarmament, and creation of prerequisites for the development of peaceful cooperation between states with different social systems in the spirit of the United Nations Charter. Lubomir Strougal and U Maung Maung Kha appreciated the development of relations between their countries in the political, cultural and especially economic sphere. They agreed that good possibilities exist for the promotion of these relations in which both sides are interested. Czechoslovakia can play a more significant role in the industrialization of Burma. Both countries want to expand their trade and to increase exports of Burmese products to Czechoslovakia.

STROUGAL, GANDHI ISSUE JOINT PRESS STATEMENT

LD231430 Prague CTK in English 1315 GMT 23 Feb 84

["Press Release on Czechoslovak Premier's Visit to India" -- CTK headline]

[Text] New Delhi (CTK) -- Prime Ministers Lubomir Strougal of Czechoslovakia and Indira Gandhi of India stressed in their talks here February 21-23 that an atmosphere of confidence and understanding must be created in the world. The point is underlined in a joint press statement adopted at the close of the Czechoslovak premier's visit to India.

Voicing grave concern at the present tension in the world posing the danger of confrontation, the two premiers called for an immediate halt to the feverish nuclear armament and for restoration of the policy of international detente. They specifically underlined the importance of renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons or threat with them, of freezing nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and of concrete steps towards complete and general disarmament. The two prime ministers appreciated the efforts of both countries aimed at preserving peace and developing international cooperation.

Both sides believe that the resources released in the process of disarmament should be used for social purposes and economic development.

Lubomir Strougal and Indira Gandhi voiced the view that implementation of the conclusion of the 7th non-aligned summit in New Delhi would help improve the international atmosphere.

The premiers of Czechoslovakia and India informed each other of the development in their regions and exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East, in Lebanon and the south of Africa and on international economic problems.

They also exchanged information on progress made in the economic development of both countries and voiced satisfaction with the steady development of bilateral relations. They agreed that there are wide possibilities to expand their economic, commercial and scientific technological cooperation as well as mutually beneficial cooperation in culture, education, science and health care.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, the statement said. The premiers were satisfied with the results of their talks, voiced the conviction that they have contributed to the strengthening of the traditional friendship between Czechoslovakia and India and have given a new impulse to the strengthening of relations in all areas. The Czechoslovak premier thanked the Indian Government and people for their warm reception and hospitality. Prime Minister Gandhi accepted an invitation to pay an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

CSSR, SOVIET OFFICIALS MARK SOVIET ARMY DAYSoviet War Dead Honored

LD231643 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] A solemn act marking the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy took place today at the central honorary burial place of the Soviet Army at Olsany Cemetery in Prague.

The memory of the Soviet heroes, who gave their lives in liberating our country, was honored with a wreath laid by a delegation from the Czechoslovak Armed Forces headed by Vratislav Vajnar, federal minister of the interior; Colonel General Miloslav Blahnik, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army and first deputy minister of national defense; and Miroslav Novak, chief of the Main Staff of the People's Militia. The memory of the Red Army soldiers was also honored with a wreath laid by a delegation from the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia, headed by Ambassador Aleksandr Botvin, and a delegation from the Central Group of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia, led by its commander Colonel General Grigoriy Borisov. Also present was Colonel General Ivan Voloshin, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states at the Ministry of National Defense.

A solemn act marking the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and navy was also held today in Brno.

USSR Embassy Reception

LD241127 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Today, on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Army and Navy, the military and air attache at the Soviet Embassy in Czechoslovakia gave a reception in Prague. Present at the reception, together with Soviet Ambassador Aleksandr Botvin, was Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, Comrades Vasil Bilak, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Josef Kempny, Josef Korcak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Mikulas Beno, Josef Havlin, Marie Kabrhelova, Jaroslav Hajn, and other representatives. The reception took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Vadim Zagladin [as heard], Soviet consul general, gave a festive reception in Bratislava on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Army and Navy. Present at the reception were leading representatives of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

CPCZ'S FOJTIK WRITES ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

For the text of an article by Jan Fojtik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, from the 21 February issue of Moscow PRAVDA, First Edition, on the current state of international affairs, see page F 1 of the 24 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

KEMPNY, USSR OFFICIAL VIEW TECHNICAL COOPERATION

LD240422 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Today Josef Kempny, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council, received in Prague Sergey Yefimenko, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology. They discussed some questions of scientific and technological cooperation between both countries, and of implementation of the conclusions of the eighth session of the CPCZ Central Committee on the speedier application of the results of science and technology in practice under the conditions laid down by the Czech National Council. They stressed the need to devote fundamental attention to energy, electronics, robotics, certain new materials, and biotechnology. They emphasized the need for the fullest and most highly efficient exploitation of the potential of science and technology.

BILAK RECEIVES SWISS LABOR PARTY DELEGATION

LD231630 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has received a delegation of the Swiss Labor Party, comprised of Hansjorg Hofer, Politburo and Secretariat member, and Pierre Gueniat, Politburo member. The delegation is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

In a comradely talk, a mutual exchange of views took place on the development of the current international relations, the situation in Czechoslovakia and Switzerland, as well as on the activities of the two fraternal parties. The two sides resolutely condemned the militarist policy of the aggressive imperialist circles, headed by the United States, which poses a great threat to peace in Europe and the world over. They expressed the conviction that the peace proposals and initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact represent a solid basis for halting the arms race, for renewing trust among states, and strengthening European and world security. They highly praised the results of the activities of the world anti-war forces and stressed the need for an all-round effort to increase their activity in the struggle against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. The delegation of the Swiss Labor Party reported on the activity of the party, stressing the defense of the interests of the working people of Switzerland and strengthening the peace movement in their country. The delegation praised the results achieved by the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak people in building an advanced socialist society. The two sides expressed the wish to further develop and deepen mutual relations in the interest of the joint struggle for socialism, peace, and social progress.

The delegation of the Swiss Labor Party was received in Bratislava today by Josef Lenart, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. The delegation was briefed on the concrete results achieved by the working people under the leadership of the party to implement the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

COMMITTEE SESSION ON COOPERATION WITH HUNGARY ENDS

LD231518 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] The 19th session of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation ended in Prague today. In conclusion of the session, a document summing-up the results of the talks was signed by Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. The main attention of the mutual economic contacts is focussed on further broadening production cooperation and specialization in a number of industries, above all in engineering. The development of the progressive forms of economic cooperation will be reflected in the increase of mutual exchange of goods. As far as science and technology are concerned, mutual cooperation will concentrate on selected concrete questions whose solution could be reflected in the growth of cooperation in production.

BRIEFS

PITRA MEETS POLISH DELEGATION -- Today in Prague Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received a study delegation of the PZPR Central Committee. He informed its members on the current situation in fulfilling the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and important questions of the party's work in the sphere of economic policy. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 13 Feb 84 LD]

REAGAN OMITTS MISSILE ISSUES AT PRESS CONFERENCE

LD240620 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Commentary by Albert Reiss -- recorded]

[Text] One might have looked forward to the U.S. President's press conference with justified interest. Why? Because Reagan's daily utterances -- and his State of the Union speech was no exception -- are just electioneering. So one was entitled to expect something that would at least show whether American policy is now geared toward lessening tensions. We have become modest in our expectations from this administration. Reagan and his senior officials have talked too often of a glimmer of hope they profess to have seen in Moscow and of signals detected there. Such marks of approval purporting to encourage someone in Moscow have an unpleasant flavor coming as they do from Washington.

As we see it, the Soviet Union has no need of such jovial encouragement. But then, as I said, one has become modest. If signals have purportedly been detected, then one might well be curious -- and this is what I meant at the start -- to see how these signals would be answered. Who better to do it than the President in an address to be televised nationwide?

His remarks on Lebanon are bound to disappoint what expectations might have existed. The marines would be ordered to land from their ships once again, if need be. We knew that anyway. But there is an interesting admission in that Ronald Reagan said that the situation of the United States does not mean, as he says: that we have lost already. Surely you can only win or lose if you take sides or are a party. But Washington called the U.S. Marines a peace-keeping force to act as a stabilizer and peacemaker in the civil war in Lebanon. You cannot have it both ways. In point of fact the United States is not a peace-keeping force in Lebanon but a party taking sides. We knew that, too. But, President Reagan has made it even more clear.

Consider East-West relations. Surely what has come from the Soviet Union are not signals but balanced and fair proposals and bold initiatives. Nor are they recent, as some in the West will have it. They have been put forward for some time. That brings us to the crux of the problem.

It is that the current tense and dangerous situation is chiefly marked by the deployment, now begun, of the 572 new American intermediate-range weapons in Western Europe and the need to emerge from this situation. President Reagan has this time omitted to invite the USSR to return to the negotiating table in Geneva, apparently because this time he could not have done so without stating the object of the negotiation.

What did Reagan have to say about the Soviet statement -- which is not a signal but a political initiative -- that much is possible, even the resumption of the Geneva negotiations, if the United States and NATO return to the situation which existed before the deployment -- that is, stop further deployment and ship the missiles already installed back to the United States? Reagan said nothing about the possibility of resuming these most important negotiations. Vice President George Bush was much more explicit at the Munich conference on defense policy. He said that a start had been made with the deployment of the missiles and that now one should turn to the conventional arming of NATO, which was an indispensable complement to nuclear arms.

It would be interesting to know whether America's allies saw NATO's missile decision in that light. We know that many in the West want a dialogue and many are seeking ways toward a dialogue.

A dialogue is possible. The socialist countries have never been reluctant to talk. If there is any point in Ronald Reagan's televised address, it is perhaps that it shows what obstacles must be cleared to get a dialogue going.

Mideast Policy Remarks Assessed

DW231334 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Peter Spacek commentary]

[Text] At a press conference last night, U.S. President Reagan commented on the U.S. policy in the Middle East, above all, in Lebanon. Peter Spacek informs us about details.

It did not sound very optimistic when President Reagan said that the current situation in Lebanon does not mean -- as he said verbatim -- that the United States has already lost. As to relocating the Marines, which has started now, to the warships anchored off Beirut, the President said that the United States thereby had assumed a position that can be defended in a better way. Things do not look bright at all, Reagan went on, and he spoke of a period of time in which things have to cool down. Presenting matters that way and with the words he chose, the chief of the White House obviously sought to live up to a mood which precisely during the last few days has become increasingly rampant in the United States and which has triggered assessments by a number of politicians as well as big newspapers, such as that none of the U.S. goals in the Middle East had been achieved and that the United States, on the contrary is about to slide into a disastrous situation similar to Vietnam if it continues its direct military intervention.

However, nothing was said at the press conference on a withdrawal of the Marines. They stay where they are, President Reagan said, adding that their mission in Lebanon was not yet terminated. He expressly did not rule out that they will disembark from the warships operating off the coast as soon as there is a better chance for their mission, as he said. Moreover, the President also exploited the currently aggravating conflict between Iran and Iraq by announcing another military intervention in the Middle East. He said that the United States by no means will allow the conflict to lead to closing the Strait of Hormuz. This is why a U.S. naval unit is constantly cruising in the region.

NIER, OTHERS ATTEND U.S. ENVOY'S DINNER FOR BURT

AU231026 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- On the occasion of the visit of Assistant Secretary of State Richard R. Burt, Rozanne L. Ridgway, U.S. ambassador to the GDR, gave a dinner on Tuesday [21 February]. It was attended by Kurt Nier, deputy minister for foreign affairs; SED Central Committee members and department heads Herbert Haeber and Guenter Siebert; as well as other prominent figures.

HONECKER, LEADERS, SOVIETS HONOR WAR DEAD

LD231407 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 23 Feb (ADN) -- At a wreath-laying ceremony at the Berlin-Treptow memorial today, the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, the GDR's party and state leadership together with officials from the USSR and thousands of workers remembered the Soviet heroes who died.

At the head of the parade was Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen, Horst Dohls, Werner Felfe, Joachim Hermann, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Egon Krenz, Army General Erich Mielke, Erich Jueckenberger, Guenther Kleiber, Inge Lange, and Guenter Schabowski. Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Vyacheslav Kochemasov, and Army General Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, honored the memory of the sons of the Soviet people who died in the Great Patriotic War to smash Hitler fascism.

Honecker Attends Reception

LD232305 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 23 Feb (ADN) -- To mark the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, the military, naval, and air attache at the Soviet Embassy in the GDR, Rear Admiral Kir Kemsenko, held a reception in Berlin this evening. At the embassy building in Unter den Linden, the hosts warmly welcomed Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and other members of the GDR party and state leadership.

In his toasts, Rear Adm Lemsenko stressed that since the first day of their existence, the Soviet Armed Forces have served their people loyally and have selflessly protected their creative work. Shoulder to shoulder with the National People's Army of the GDR and the other fraternal armies, the Soviet Army is reliably defending the borders of the socialist community.

HONECKER RECEIVES PCF'S MARCHAIS 24 FEBRUARY

LD241025 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0932 GMT 24 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 24 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, met this morning for a friendly talk.

HONECKER SENDS LETTER TO UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERAL

LD232217 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 23 Feb (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has sent the following letter to Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, director general of UNESCO:

I would like to thank you for sending me your book "Where the Future Starts." I was especially taken with the observations concerning the future activities of UNESCO in solving mankind's burning questions.

The resolutions of the latest UNESCO general conference, which have met with a broad consensus of the member states, have concretely expressed the worldwide will to preserve peace, prevent a nuclear war, end the arms race, and develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation among the states and peoples. In this, the main program "peace, international understanding, human rights and the rights of the peoples," which you characterize so very rightly as the culminating point of the organization's activity, deserves to be especially emphasized in this present, dangerously sharpened international situation.

As it has turned out, these same circles that, through their policy of confrontation and arms race, have considerably lowered the threshold of a nuclear catastrophe also oppose UNESCO's increased peace commitment.

Boycott and financial blackmail are certainly not suitable means for shaping international relations, and attempts to subjugate important international organizations to plans for world hegemony will be frustrated. Dialogue will and must continue and UNESCO has the opportunity to stimulate it.

The German Democratic Republic will continue to support the organization's contribution toward solving the fundamental questions of our time and will work toward that end actively and constructively.

AXEN CHAIRS FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SESSION

LD232341 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1651 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] East Berlin, 23 Feb (ADN) -- In Berlin today, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the GDR People's Chamber discussed the new situation that has arisen as a result of the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe. The meeting was chaired by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. The parliamentarians paid tribute to the exemplary activity and initiative of Erich Honecker in strengthening the struggle for peace, halting the arms race, for arms control and disarmament, and for a coalition of reason and realism. The declaration of principle by the GDR foreign minister at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe was also welcomed.

Deputy Foreign Minister Peter Florin reported on the course and result of the 38th session of the UN General Assembly. He emphasized that the constructive work of socialist and nonaligned states has led to the adoption of a large number of important resolutions for arms limitation and disarmament, the consolidation of international security and equal international economic relations. These positive results must now be used to improve international relations.

AXEN RECEIVES URUGUAYAN CP OFFICIAL 23 FEBRUARY

LD232322 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1802 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 23 Feb (ADN) -- The SED and the Communist Party of Uruguay stand firmly at the side of socialist Cuba and of Nicaragua and are united in solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Central and South America for democracy, national independence, and social progress. This was underlined by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Enrique Rodríguez, member of the Executive Committee and secretary of the Uruguay Communist Party Central Committee, during a talk in Berlin on Thursday.

The Uruguayan politician briefed Axen on the people's growing resistance to the ruling military regime in his country. This is marked by a noticeable upsurge in the mass struggle and the increasingly unified action of all opposition forces. In the fight to restore democracy, the working class and Communists of Uruguay are in the very front line, the guest stressed.

Hermann Axen explained the domestic and foreign policy tasks resulting from the seventh session of the SED Central Committee for further strengthening socialism and for securing peace.

UN'S PEREZ DE CUELLAR ARRIVES IN BUDAPEST

LD231517 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] We have just learned that the UN secretary general has arrived in Budapest. Javier Perez de Cuellar and his wife were received at Ferihegy Airport by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi. The secretary general of the world organization had previously visited Warsaw and Prague.

Varkonyi Talks With UN Chief

LD232138 Budapest MTI in English 1731 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI) -- Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi had talks with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in Budapest Thursday afternoon with Hungary's UN Envoy Ambassador Pal Racz present.

Perez de Cuellar opened an official visit to Budapest earlier in the day on the invitation of Minister Varkonyi.

Lazar Receives UN Chief

LD232148 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest: Premier Gyorgy Lazar has received UN Secretary Perez de Cuellar. At the discussion they reviewed several issues of international economic relations. Earlier, Perez de Cuellar, who arrived in Budapest today, held talks with his host, Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

According to an MTI correspondent, opinions were exchanged primarily on the international situation. Peter Varkonyi emphasized that the disputed issues must be settled by negotiations. The UN secretary general pointed out that the main source of international tension is nuclear armament, and that the relations between the great powers have deteriorated. For this reason, he considered it necessary that the UN should get a greater role in the settlement of conflicts.

Lazar Hosts Banquet

LD232155 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Premier Gyorgy Lazar has given a banquet in honor of the UN secretary general in the parliament building. In his toast the premier said that, in the present tense international situation, the continuation of dialogue between countries with different social systems has great significance. It is our unchanged opinion that the solution for improving the international atmosphere and for disarmament can and must be found. Gyorgy Lazar assured his guest that the world organization can always count on the support of Hungary in defense of peace and security.

In his reply Perez de Cuellar said that the international security system laid down in the UN Charter must be revitalized. If this does not happen, a dangerous process can develop, leading to international anarchy. In the present world every crisis endangers the whole international community, the UN secretary general said.

LEADERS, PRESS MARK USSR ARMY, NAVY DAY

Czinege Greet Counterpart

AU241110 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 84 p 3

[Text] General of the Army Lajos Czinege, minister of defense, greeted in a message Dmitriy Ustinov, marshal of the Soviet Union, minister of defense of the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Army and Navy. We publish herewith the text of the message:

Esteemed Comrade Minister, our dear Soviet friends-in-arms, on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the birth of the glorious Soviet Army and Navy, I send you and the entire complement of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union heartfelt greetings as comrades and friends-in-arms on behalf of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, the commanders and soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army, and myself.

Today, when the U.S. leadership and NATO's extremist circles pursue an armament of unprecedented proportions and strive to upset the balance of power and obtain military superiority together with world progressive forces, our people as a whole and our Army look with respect upon the Soviet Armed Forces, which have earned lasting merits and are fulfilling an outstanding role in our era as well as in defending socialism and protecting world peace.

On the occasion of the festive day of the Soviet Army and Navy, we sincerely wish the commanders and soldiers of the Soviet Army, the Soviet Army as a whole, further outstanding success in fulfilling their historical mission in the service of the interests of their beloved fatherland and the socialist community, in combat and political training, and in enhancing combat preparedness.

My wish to you, esteemed Comrade Minister, is that you may, turning your rich experience to good account, continue to work successfully in accomplishing the tasks defined by the 26th CPSU Congress and Central Committee plenums and may achieve additional successes in the service of social progress and the universal cause of peace and in further intensifying cooperation and friendship-in-arms among the fraternal armies.

Korom Attends Reception

LD240057 Budapest MTI in English 1739 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI) -- Colonel Vladimir Zotov, military and air attache at the Budapest Embassy of the Soviet Union, gave a reception at the embassy Thursday on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces and Navy. Present were Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee; Janos Borbandi, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungarian minister of defence; Geza Kotai, deputy head of the HSWP CC's Foreign Affairs Department; Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Roska; and personalities of Hungarian political, social, economic, and cultural life. Vladimir Bazovskiy, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, Colonel-General Nikolay Silchenko, representative in Hungary of the commander-in-chief of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and Colonel-General Konstantin Kochetov, commander of the Southern Army Group temporarily stationed in Hungary, and several leading representatives and military and air attaches of diplomatic representations also attended.

Wreaths Laid

LD240054 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI) -- A ceremony was held at the memorial of Soviet war heroes during the liberation of Hungary on Gellert Hill, Budapest, Thursday on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Army and Navy.

On behalf of the armed forces of the Hungarian People's Republic, Army General Lajos Czinege, defence minister; Istvan Horvath, minister of home affairs; and Colonel Gyorgy Nagy, first deputy to the national commander of workers' guard, laid a wreath. On behalf of the Soviet Embassy in Budapest Vladimir Bazovskiy, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and Colonel Vladimir Zotov, military and air attache, laid a wreath.

On behalf of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front (PPF), Bela Molnar, secretary of PPF National Council, and on behalf of the Federation of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Anti-fascists, Deputy General Secretary Marton Ispanovits laid wreaths.

A wreath was laid by Major General Iliev Dechev of Bulgaria, Lieutenant-General Zbigniew Ohanowicz of Poland and Colonel (Mun Sang-Taek) of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on behalf of military and air attaches accredited to Budapest.

Representing the Soviet Southern Army Group, temporarily stationed in Hungary, Colonel General Knostantin Kochetov, commander of the Southern Army Group, and Lieutenant Generals Nikolay Shevkun and Vladlen Koselov laid a wreath.

A wreath of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society was laid by Deputy President Istvan Tamassy and Cosmonaut Lieutenant [word indistinct] Bertalan Farkas, member of the national presidium.

Wreaths were also laid by the Hungarian Defence Federation and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth Union.

Press Commemorates Anniversary

LD231305 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February, 23 (MTI) -- All the central dailies Thursday carry commemorative articles, interviews and illustrated reports on the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Army and Navy.

NEPSZABADSAG carries the full text of the telegram by Army General Lajos Czinege, Hungarian defence minister, to Dmitriy Ustinov, marshal of the Soviet Union and defence minister, and an illustrated article which reads: "We are entitled to be proud of that our people's army, as member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, may share the accomplishment of the historical task, which was the lot of our Soviet brothers-in-arms for the first time, i.e. to assure the international conditions of socialist construction and peace in our country as well as in Europe."

A commentary in NEPSZAVA, "Army for Peace," stresses inter alia: "This army has always fought for peace, and it remains to be its main duty today.... However, peace requires great sacrifice in the present tense international situation. The increasing arms race imposes ever greater burdens on the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union."

"We want to live and develop our society in peace, the essential condition of which is the establishment of equal security. This is why the existence of such a force as the armed force of the Soviet Union, which is able to counterbalance threats and the aggressive schemes of imperialism designed to gain world power, is indispensable."

MAGYAR HIRLAP carries an article by APN correspondent Stepan Fedoseyev, entitled "The Protector of Peace." The author states among other things that "the strength of the Soviet Army lies in its unity with the people. They keep watch over the protection of socialist achievements and world peace."

MAGYAR NEMZET, the central organ of the National Patriotic Front, carries an interview by APN correspondent with Vladimir Tolubko, Soviet deputy defence minister and commander-in-chief of strategic missile troops. Vladimir Tolubko, stating that the security of the Soviet Union and its allies is guaranteed, pointed out: "We have established the defence capacity of the Soviet Union, the firm financial basis of military forces and the country's economic and scientific potentials. It has been proved several times that we are able to develop any type of weapon within a short time, if the enemies of peace try to gain supremacy."

ECONOMIC COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CSSR

LD222206 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI) -- The signing of the protocol signalled the conclusion of the 19th meeting of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Commission, in Prague Wednesday, with Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai and Rudolf Rohlicek, his Czechoslovak counterpart, as signatories. Jozsef Marjai and party returned to Budapest the same day.

The negotiating parties stated that stability and dynamic growth has in recent years marked the Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic relations. The participants of the meeting resolved to take measures to implement the economic targets defined during the meeting of Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, and Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar and Lubomir Strougal, in Prague last autumn. The participants defined steps to be taken to speed up elaboration of agreements on bilateral specialization and cooperation projects for 1986-90. Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal has met Jozsef Marjai.

LAZAR, APRO RECEIVE NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR

LD221920 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI) -- Nicolas Salgo, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States to Hungary, has paid introductory visits on Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Aproz, speaker of parliament.

GASPAR ON TRADE UNION POLICY, PLACE IN PARTY

AU221324 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Feb 84 p 3

[Article by Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Politburo member and National Trade Union Council president: "History and the Present Era]

[Excerpt] Since 1956, the MSZMP has learned from the experiences of history and has drawn the necessary conclusions from them in its trade union policy.

The MSZMP has recognized the truth and is carrying out in practice the principle that society cannot function well, even under socialist conditions, without a trade union that is capable of action and has a legal scope and influence. The lack of such a trade union will sooner or later lead to social and political convulsions. Aware of all this, the party continues the practice of consultations and asking the opinion of the masses before setting each important task, because it does not consider itself infallible.

The belief that if history has created the possibility for governing then everything goes smoothly is based on a misconception. The MSZMP is aware that policy is made by men and that therefore there is a need for an institutional guarantee to minimize the danger of mistakes in decisionmaking. It does not allow the belief to spread that he who has the higher social rank is always right. The party deliberately avoids seeing and presenting the situation as it would like it to be, and strives to see things as they are in reality. The party does not mix up the facts and the reality with the needs, the conceptions. Realpolitik based on actual capabilities and possibilities is the most important characteristic of the policy of the MSZMP.

It is wrong, for instance, to attribute to society such qualities as it does not or cannot possess because the conditions are lacking. It is impossible to imagine socialist society in such a way that, once the workers' power has been achieved and nationalization carried out, everything goes on like clockwork. The fact that the nature of power has changed and the means of production have become common property does not mean that the socialist society is complete. In the long run, victory and complete socialism will depend on our ability to create a higher level of productivity. We must not forget this Leninist warning.

Socialism cannot be built on a pattern. There is no such pattern. There is need of much speculation, and the speculation must come from reality. To make the socialist society complete there is need of many other things: In addition to the power of the working class and socialist ownership, there is also need for developed forces of production and moral values and socialist human values that only the socialist society can produce and which are expressed in the citizens' thoughts, behavior, and actions.

The summing up of the above principles, the practical experience of realpolitik carried out for more than 25 years, is outlined in the position of the MSZMP Central Committee of 12th October 1983. This document of historic import on the development of trade union activity and the party's tasks compiled these principles and experiences into a system. The most important thing now is for us to get acquainted with its content, to think its message over, to understand its spirit, and start its implementation -- not in an intermittent way but consistently and with preparation for the long run.

Before this position, there were arguments concerning the legal scope and jurisdiction of the trade unions. According to some, it was too much; according to others, it was not enough. When the trade union stewards were given an increased sphere of influence, quite a few people asked: If the trade union steward has greater legal scope than the party steward, then how does the party's leading role assert itself? This is an incorrect way of putting the question. With increased legal scope and sphere of jurisdiction, the trade union steward is strengthening the leading role of the party, because he carries out the party's policy, he helps it in other ways, by individual means, based on the division of labor developed between the party, the state, and the trade unions.

This division of labor is based on tested principles and not on questions of prestige. The main point of the division of labor is that function is not an end in itself but the means serving the cause, that is, everybody should carry out his duty, labor relations should be steady, worthy, coordinated, and harmonious.

The trade unions' rights are the workers rights. The legal scope and sphere of jurisdiction of the trade unions cannot become an end in themselves. It is the duty of the trade union movement to exercise these rights properly in the interests of the workers. The position of the MSZMP Central Committee clarified these questions, too. It stopped the argument concerning the legal scope and sphere of jurisdiction of the trade unions and made it the duty of every communist to respect them.

From the spirit of the position is also reflected the fact that it is possible to work in a revolutionary way even under consolidated social circumstances. It is worthwhile recalling this, because we are inclined to stick too much to routine: We have been doing it like this for a long time, why change? We must break away from this way of thinking. It is a natural part of the movement that it renews itself, it adapts its activity continuously to the changing circumstances. Frequently we stick too much, for instance, to the working plan prepared in advance. We prepare it, we adopt it, but life is changing in the meantime, and we continue to stick to the original conceptions. We can cite other examples, too. We have old realizations, for instance, concerning the improvement of the trade unions' relations with its partners, the development of the relations between the National Council of Trade Unions with the trade unions of the industrial branches, but things are progressing more slowly than they should. Time is pressing these processes to speed up.

Things To Be Done in the Long Run

There is a lot of misunderstanding concerning the trade unions' independence, too. In what sense are the trade unions independent? They are independent and committed at the same time. They are committed to the party's policy and the cause of the working class and socialism, but they live their own independent organizational life. The trade union activists and officials are responsible to the membership.

There is considerable importance for the trade unions' independence in three areas in particular: First, they convey the party's policy to the membership and at the same time signal and forward the workers' needs and proposals to the party. Second, they create an independent partner relationship with the state and economic organs. Relations on the level of factories, enterprises, and institutions are of particular importance nowadays, because the main accent of the activity and the possibilities for development are also to be found here. The third sphere in which the trade unions' independence must be reflected is serving the interests of the membership.

The Hungarian trade union movement is an organic part of the political institution system of our socialist construction society. We take part in carrying out the socialist goals, we help to carry out the party's policy, we safeguard and represent the interests of the working people. The Central Committee of the party designates our tasks for the long run. It is impossible, of course, to solve all the questions at once. Therefore, there is need for differentiation. Now, in the period until the 25th congress, the following tasks are worth putting in the forefront of the trade unions' activity: Help maintain the country's solvency, improve the balance situation of the people's economy, safeguard -- as much as possible and as we can -- the standard of living, contribute to the operation of the productive apparatus and the increase of industrial production, and strengthen and develop socialist democracy at all levels.

A considerable value of our socialist life is the integrity of public life, discipline, order, work well-done, and love for one's work. The trade union movement contributes with its means to the strengthening of these values. We must defend these values, because with them we give a green light to progressive people, to initiative, to an honest and decent life, and to work.

These are good, challenging tasks. Everybody can find in them his own goal, everybody who wants to and can help overcome our difficulties and start on the path to further development.

NEPSZABADSAG ON ANTIREFORM ENTERPRISE LEADERS

AU221538 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Feb 84 p 7

[Istvan Foldes article: "Obstructors or Scapegoats?"]

[Excerpts] Three years ago, a book was published (Erzsebet Szalai: "Priority Enterprise -- Investment -- Incentive"; Academic Publishers, 1981), that presented noteworthy conclusions on the role and influence of large enterprises in the first half of the seventies on the basis of scientifically exacting analyses. We can now read an article in the debate column of this year's first issue of KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE [ECONOMIC REVIEW] (Andras Hegedus: "The Large Enterprises and Socialism"), that with reference to this book, expounds on not the scientific but the political opinion of the author on the topic.

At the beginning of the seventies, the problem was not merely the fact that enterprises that encountered difficulties and their leaders did everything possible to escape from their predicament -- that is a natural reflex. It was the temporary success of this intention that caused the people's economy to come to a standstill, and this was not caused by leaders of large enterprises in a simplified and generalized form.

It is beyond the scope of this article to analyze the reasons in detail. Objective factors played a role. For instance, the country -- particularly after 1973, but even today as well -- needed and needs the foreign currency earned from exports that are not always economical. Still, certain leaders who were insistent on the old managerial style also played a role in the erroneous reaction, those who felt that their power and influence considerably diminish under the new system of macromanagement. There were also leaders who, although they sympathized with the reform, were anxious about whether they could meet their commitments under the new circumstances. Of course some of these found their proper place and became active supporters of our macromanagement system sooner or later, but others supported it only half-heartedly and acknowledged this with relief when the pressure of the economic environment temporarily lessened.

How wrong it is to generalize is shown by the fact that not only the successes of the 1968-72 period, but also the results of the recent years are inseparable from the by no means small camp of large enterprise leaders who, from the beginning or slightly later, are espousing the reform as a program giving the go ahead for their inspiring and creative initiatives and ventures and have made the activity of their enterprises unfold accordingly. In an extensive sphere, the previous anxieties have disappeared, and many of the leaders unsuited for the present leadership requirements have been placed in other positions or have retired. For the great majority of the present leaders of large enterprises, our economic macromanagement system has become a natural condition of existence, and now its further development is a demand urged by many of them. Still, it is an undeniable fact that there are leaders even today who cannot keep in step with the age and are to blame to no small degree for the relatively slow modernization of the product structure and the outdated nature of the internal management system of many enterprises. Of course such leaders are afraid of a further development of the reform. It is also true that some specific steps of economic macromanagement may make supporters of the reform uncertain or, at least, dampen their spirit and at the same time encourage opponents of the reform.

In the meantime, not only the priorities of economic policy have changed, but also organizational key points. In this connection, may I refer to the positions adopted by two party congresses. What we can read still in the resolution of the 11th congress (1975) is: "We must strive to adapt our system of economic regulation more effectively to the given conditions in the various areas. The conditions under which the large industrial enterprises operate must be improved and the responsibility of their managers increased for the better utilization of highly valuable equipment." In this respect, the 12th congress formulated the task in this way: "Economic regulation and the incentive system should foster primarily a rapid development of efficiently operating enterprises and cooperatives and encourage them to make better use of their resources and reserves and improve the profitability of production."

This latter position is reflected also in the fact that since 1979, despite the difficult external conditions, several measures consistent with the 1966 concept of the reform have been implemented. Here we need think only of the creation of the homogeneous Ministry of Industry or, for instance, the introduction of various small entrepreneurial forms, including, precisely, the work partnerships within large enterprises. Last summer's "half-time" session of the Central Committee also gave the go-ahead for the further development of our system of economic macromanagement. Since then, with the party's leadership, extensive work has been done, the results of which will be presented to the leading party and government organs this year.

Our people's economy, we hope, is about to recover from the grave imbalance of a few years ago. In this a major role is played by the leaders and working people of large enterprises. Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied with their performance, because requirements are increasing more rapidly than results. Still, blaming the large enterprises and their leaders in general, divorced from space and time, and declaring them the scapegoat for all problems rightly offends leaders -- most of whom labor without thought for their health.

And what are we to say about Andras Hegedus' proposals? He is banging on open gates with some of them. He urges a decentralization of large enterprises -- more than a little has been done in this matter, and the process is still open. (It must be considered, however, that, in a number of areas, the large enterprise form is a fundamental prerequisite for competitiveness throughout the world.) A new type of supervisory commission would be required, he writes. Pursuant to a decree concerning the matter, a number of them have already been established. The author desires more democracy in the selection of leaders, although, as he says, "in societies of an East European type (sic! -- I.F.), the development of the personal composition of the leadership is a state task even in the long-term view." Our endeavors -- a competitive system, appointments for a limited time, and selection of leaders from a broad sphere -- go far beyond Hegedus' proposals.

However, according to Hegedus, all this has not averted, but only postponed the maturing and increasingly threatening economic and political crisis.

I do not accept the author's presentations, which are not only pessimistic, but also false. My view is confirmed by the "half-time" position of the Central Committee, which declares: "The Central Committee regards as necessary a perfecting and further development of the system of economic macromanagement. Retaining the proven fundamental principles and taking into consideration 15 years of practical experience, the economic mechanism is to be developed so as to ensure that it serves simultaneously more successful accomplishment of the tasks arising from intensive management and from the changes of the world economy."

And although there is and will be resistance, it is the resolute intention of the party not to let itself be led astray from this path either by the opponents of the reform, or by overbidders who pose in the guise of its defenders.

KADAR VISITS SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL FEDERATION

LD240011 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Excerpts] Janos Kadar, who was accompanied by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, was greeted upon his arrival at the headquarters of the federation of Hungarian Scientific and Technical Associations [MTESZ] by Chairman Jenő Fock; Secretary General Janos Toth; Mrs Istvan Szuecs, first secretary of the 5th district party committee; and Miklos (Madar), party secretary of MTESZ. He was then briefed on nearly every essential characteristic of the work of this social organization numbering more than 170,000 members.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, spoke about topical internal and foreign policy issues. Then he spoke with appreciation about the work of the Hungarian technical intelligentsia and praised the federation and the socially important activity of its member organizations.

BRIEFS

LETTER TO STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE -- Budapest, February 20 (MTI) -- The inter-denominational peace committee and the Catholic committee of the National Peace Council sent a letter to the participants of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, Monday. It ran: "Churches and denominations in Hungary highly appreciate the efforts of the conference and regard them as of particular importance. It is our persuasion that all well intentioned people are searching for the way to detente and disarmament which can only be found through the deepening of confidence between peoples. We sincerely hope that religious people who have responsibility emanating from their faith can contribute to confidence-building. The Hungarian faithful give their assurance of agreement with and support for the parties negotiating for the security and peace of our continent. We have great expectations that their efforts will succeed." [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 20 Feb 84 LD]

SOVIET THANKS FOR CONDOLENCES -- Budapest -- The Soviet Embassy hereby expresses its gratitude to party and state organs, social organizations, work collectives, the armed forces, and all those who expressed their condolences on the death of Yuriy Andropov. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Feb 84 LD]

SOVIET COMMERCE CHAMBER COOPERATION -- Budapest, February 20 (MTI) -- Adolf Federer, chairman of the Soviet section of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, told MTI correspondent that the exchange visits of Hungarian and Soviet marketing delegations will be increased this year. In addition, Moldavian days will be held in Budapest and Hungarian economic and technical days in Tallin this autumn. Chamber cooperation is designed to improve the development of direct relations, cooperation and joint ventures of Hungarian and Soviet enterprises. In the first half of the year Soviet agriculturalists will study the Hungarian food industry and Hungarian agriculturalists give lectures in Ukraine. Lectures will be given on the operation of Hungarian agricultural combines in Baku. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1013 GMT 20 Feb 84 LD]

RECEPTION HELD FOR PEREZ DE CUELLAR 20 FEBRUARY

Jablonski Speech

AU231230 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] PAP -- Henryk Jablonski, State Council chairman, spoke during a reception in honor of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who is visiting Poland, at the Belweder Palace in Warsaw on 20 February.

Referring to the hospitality given him during his visit to the United Nations, H. Jablonski expressed satisfaction and joy at the possibility of hosting the UN secretary general and his closest colleagues in the historic Polish Belweder Palace. He congratulated the distinguished guest for having received an honorary doctor's degree from the Jagiellonian University and wished him achievements in all his fields of activity.

H. Jablonski said that the UN secretary general's visit is taking place at a time when the words of the founders of the United Nations contained in the Charter and expressing their desire to protect future generations from the calamity of war are assuming particular validity, and stressed that dark clouds are once again gathering over the international horizon. The Hydra of armaments is reemerging on an unheard-of scale. Insane theories about the possibility of winning a nuclear war are appearing. Argument of force is replacing force of argument, as well as the desire to achieve unilateral military superiority and diktat over others. A real danger of nuclear annihilation is hanging over the lives of mankind like an evil shadow. The danger is assuming new proportions -- cosmic proportions. However, we should not succumb to fatalism. Faith in people, backed up by our ideas of socialist humanitarianism, kindles hope that the evil tendencies will be reversed.

Speaking about the great responsibility resting on politicians and statesmen whose priority task ought to be seeking ways to ease tension, strengthen peace and security, and develop international cooperation, H. Jablonski stressed the bold and realistic stance of the secretary general, designed to warn governments and public opinion about the growing dangers to peace.

We value your energetic role in easing international conflicts, H. Jablonski said. We share your consistent view that a key factor in this sphere is the political desire of UN member-states, without which not even the best UN resolutions and the strongest efforts of its secretary general can bring the expected results.

The leading precept of our foreign policy since the beginning of People's Poland has been to preserve peace, H. Jablonski continued. We give frequent and concrete proof of this, including by means of Poland's activity at the UN forum. Our firm desire to strengthen international peace and security and achieve real progress in disarmament remains unchanged.

Commencing with the idea presented at the UN General Assembly in 1957 to create a nuclear-free zone in central Europe known as the Rapacki Plan, through the presence of a Polish military contingent among the UN peace forces in the Middle East for over 10 years now, through the idea of adopting a declaration concerning the upbringing of society in a spirit of peace, right up to the widely approved concept, presented at the latest General Assembly session, of building confidence in international economic relations -- we are consistently lending expression to the Polish love of peace, which forms the basis of our UN membership in the spirit of Article 4 of the Charter.

Finally, H. Jablonski expressed deep hope that the joint activity of the forces of wisdom, realism, and progress will meet with success, and that mankind will halt and alter the course leading to the precipice. Only under such conditions can international society return to widely-conceived peaceful cooperation in accordance with the goals and principles of the UN Charter. The UN secretary general can continue to fully count on Poland in this activity and on Poland's own activity in this direction.

Olszowski Address

AU231231 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] PAP -- Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski spoke during a reception given in honor of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw on 20 February.

We are hosting the highest functionary of the world's most widespread political organization -- the United Nations -- and at the same time a distinguished representative of a country you once represented in Poland, Minister S. Olszowski said.

You are visiting a country, Mr Secretary General, for which peace is the highest value. The 40 years of People's Poland is the longest period of peace in our history. We are guarding this achievement like the apple of our eye. Our *raison d'etat* and all activities on the international arena are subordinate to this achievement.

Referring to the dangers stemming from the aims of some NATO states to achieve military superiority, S. Olszowski said that we are not powerless against them.

Poland is an indivisible part of the Warsaw Pact, the alliance for peace. The Warsaw Pact has its own concrete and energetic program of action which conforms to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and suits the best-conceived interests of peace-loving nations. In today's difficult times, this program has been fully expressed in the Prague Political Declaration by the Warsaw Pact states, which reached the United Nations a year ago and was publicized as the official document of a world organization. We will not lack the strength to consistently implement this program.

The most important matter right now, S. Olszowski continued, is to prevent war, and especially to protect mankind from a nuclear catastrophe. An important step in this direction was the resolution adopted by the 38th session of the UN General Assembly condemning nuclear war as a horrible crime against humanity and as a violation of the basic right of man -- the right to live. The signing of a treaty, proposed by the socialist states, on a mutual nonuse of military force and on maintaining peaceful relations between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO states -- this treaty also being open to to other states -- should form a basic part of efforts to avoid war. The emergence of such a treaty would create real conditions for negotiations leading to an actual reduction of arms and armaments.

Proceeding to problems concerning widely-conceived international cooperation and international economic relations, S. Olszowski said that without a general improvement in the world's political climate, it will be difficult to talk of progress in establishing a new international economic order, of positive global results, and of negotiations to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and eliminate mass and open violations of human rights.

On the part of Poland, I wish to assure you, Mr Secretary General, that Poland has been and will remain an active spokesman for peace, detente, and disarmament. The great process of transformations and of socialist renewal in Poland also serves this purpose.

As a medium-sized country, Poland attaches great importance to its membership of the United Nations in accordance with its tradition of peaceful policy and with its orientation toward international cooperation, S. Olszowski continued. While making an active contribution to the work of the United Nations, we also expect it to defend our basic interests against activities contrary to the supreme goals and principles of the Charter, especially against the lawless sanctions and various kinds of economic restrictions.

Turning to the UN secretary general, Minister S. Olszowski said: We have watched your activity during the past years with attention, interest, and respect. It is very important that during a time of spreading disinformation, warnings, and subjective assessments, you are personally visiting numerous UN member-states and are actively engaged in regaining an objective picture of their often difficult and complicated internal life and of international activity. We are convinced that your present visit to Poland also serves this purpose and that it will serve to a large extent to further deepen our fruitful cooperation with both the Secretariat and the entire UN system.

BRAZILIAN REPORTAGE ON GLEMP'S 'PRIVATE' VISIT

For reportage on Cardinal Glemp's "private and pastoral" visit to Brazil, during which he commented on the situation in the PPR and on the Church and politics, see the Brazil section of the 23 February Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

SEJM MARSHAL ARRIVES IN MEXICO FOR VISIT

For reportage on Sejm Marshal Stanislaw Cucwa's arrival in Mexico City and coverage of the visit, see the Mexico section of the 23 February Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

JARUZELSKI ATTENDS SOVIET EMBASSY RECEPTION

LD231309 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Today, the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army, a ceremonious concert took place in the Polski Theater. The concert was organized by the Main Political Board of the Polish Army and the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Deputy Defense Minister Lieutenant Jozef Uzycki said in his speech, among other things, that any attempt at political and territorial changes in Europe means an attempt against peace. Its effective defense is guaranteed by the moral and political authority and the economic power of the Soviet Union and states of the socialist community.

Major General Aleksandr Khomenko, military attache of the Soviet Embassy, gave a reception last night which was attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski and representatives of supreme party and state authorities.

PZPR COMMISSION VIEWS ANTIPROPAGANDA STEPS

LD240749 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] The ideological commission of the PZPR Central Committee has discussed the following subjects: directions of activity in combating the influence of antisocialist ideological subversion, the organization of work of ideological teams during the national conference of PZPR delegates, and main directions of work of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee in the current year.

It was said, among other things, that the subversive character of broadcasts by the Western propaganda centers is being denounced more and more efficiently. However, attention was drawn to the need for further improvement of the home mass media and their ability to efficiently counteract the hostile propaganda subversion.

TALKS ON TAXES HELD WITH TV REPRESENTATIVES

LD232312 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] At the Office of the Council of Ministers a meeting has been held between representatives of 54 national trade union organizations, the Ministry of Finance and the office for cooperation with trade unions. Draft legal acts, previously examined by trade unions, on income tax, turnover tax, and local payments and taxes were discussed. After the meeting, Minister of Finance Stanislaw Nieckarz said that proposed drafts will be presented to the Council of Ministers along with views of trade unions.

NEW PASSPORT REGULATION DUE ON 31 MARCH

LD232157 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] A new passport regulation will be introduced on 31 March. Precisely defined reasons for a refusal to issue the passport are contained in it. There are nine reasons. The most important are as follows: a lack of means of support abroad; the need to provide care or support for a person remaining in Poland; and suspicion of having committed a criminal or financial offense. An important change in the old regulations is the present requirement to justify in writing a refusal to issue the passport.

SOLIDARITY RADIO BROADCASTS MESSAGE 23 FEBRUARY

NC231933 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 23 (AFP) -- The clandestine Radio Solidarity tonight broadcast a six-minute message urging Poles to boycott municipal elections scheduled for June 17. The broadcast, Radio Solidarity's first since October 20, was clearly audible in some Warsaw districts.

PAWLOWSKA VIEWS NATIONAL PZPR CONFERENCE

AU231459 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Anna Pawlowska commentary: "Enriched With Difficult Experiences"]

[Excerpts] According to Article 23 of the PZPR Statute, the Central Committee is obliged to convene a national PZPR conference halfway through its 5-year term of office. The 15th plenum has fulfilled this obligation. The institution itself of a national PZPR conference is not a new one. What is new, however, is that the same body of delegates is meeting as the one elected for the Ninth Extraordinary Congress; it was not elected before the conference and specifically for it. For our party's new statute gives delegates a permanent seat at conferences of all levels.

The national PZPR conference will take place almost 2 months after the end of the statutory accountability-election campaign up to and including voivodship level. Therefore the conference will have before it a general survey of party ranks, party discussions, and programmatic decisions by all party bodies as a basis on which to think and form conclusions.

This should be a good springboard for thoughts on the degree and extent whereby the resolutions of the ninth congress have been implemented.

The congress entrusted the national PZPR conference with two important tasks: confirming the election rules for party delegates, authorities, and control bodies after prior consultation with the Central Committee inside party bodies, these rules being an integral part of the PZPR Statute (amendment to Article 26 of the statute); and the adoption of a suitable document by means of a separate resolution entitled "Concerning the Drafting of a Future PZPR Program."

In addition, the Central Committee has left it to the conference to decide what the final shape of the ideological declaration "What we are fighting for, where we are heading" will be in order to give it the status of a stance held by the entire party.

This declaration has already been recognized as a bridge between the ninth congress resolution and the party's future program. The time that has elapsed since the congress has not permitted the responsible and correct preparation for such a far-reaching programmatic document. That is why, in the spirit of the 15th Central Committee Plenum, the national PZPR conference is to open discussion on the future program, and not close it.

The 10th congress will certainly close this discussion. Commencing this discussion -- which is not meant to be intraparty, but national -- prior to the people's council elections will also increase its political significance.

Hence, the participants in the national PZPR conference are faced with very important tasks, the solving of which will involve the use of all the difficult experiences gathered by them during the term of office now ending.

There is not much time left before the conference. Therefore it is all the more important for the entire party to make good use of this conference -- by reflecting on the letter and spirit of the ninth congress, by increasing the efficiency of party action in all milieus, and by acting in accordance with the recommendations of the 13th plenum.

SOCIAL COMMISSION CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON TU'S

AU231306 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Feb 84 p 3

[Interview given by Prof Dr Zbigniew Salwa, chairman of the Social Consultative Commission, to Daniela Sielska: "With the Feeling That the Mission Has Been Well Accomplished"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Sielska: You have devoted a lot of time lately to the development of the trade union movement in our country, professor. The Social Consultative Commission, which you have chaired, has given help to trade union founding committees inside plants, and then to groups setting up national trade unions. Now that the commission is completing its work, what can be said about the 15 months of this work?

Salwa: I would like to say, above all, that the basis for our activity was formed by the State Council's 12 October 1982 resolution which created our commission and defined its goals on the one hand, and by the needs of trade unionists conveyed to us in demands, opinions, and questions on the other. We have worked very closely with the emerging trade unions, which subsequently became active, and we have taken part in many meetings with trade union activists. These two factors have defined the content and form of our activity. We have also respected the independence and self-management of the trade unions in our work, and we have never interfered in internal union affairs.

The commission believed its most important tasks were to give comprehensive assistance to those emerging trade unions, both on a factory and a national scale, who asked for it. I would add that the commission consisted of 39 persons, and included trade unionists representing all the trade union streams of the period before December 1981, as well as Sejm deputies from various deputies clubs and circles and lawyers -- theoreticians and practitioners possessing great knowledge of trade union law.

Sielska: The commission's basic achievement is probably the fact that it has helped trade unionists to properly understand and apply in practice the new laws on trade unions and other legal enactments of singular importance to the trade union movement. What were the most important paths of the commission's activity and how did its work change as the trade unions developed?

Salwa: At first, taking into account the most urgent needs of the emerging trade unions, the commission concentrated on giving information on and publicizing the contents of the law and the rights stemming from it, and also on acquainting interested parties with other documents which trade unionists should know about. This was important because the trade union movement was being set up from the foundations and initiated in many cases by workers who had never held any senior trade union function previously and had no satisfactory experience. At the same time, they needed knowledge of the documents with which they come into contact in their trade union work.

One of the important tasks which we started beginning February 1983 was organizing and supervising the training of members of factory trade union boards. The activists in the founding committees of the emerging trade unions had asked for this kind of training earlier. The training program and its participants evolved slowly and depended on the needs and wishes of the interested parties themselves. Taking into account the development of the trade union movement and the need to create a more permanent training base for trade union activists, the commission proposed to the State Council the setting up of a Trade Union Training Center. The proposal was approved and the center was set up. It began the entire change of training work on 1 January 1984. An interfactory training council composed of representatives from national trade unions will supervise the center.

Sielska: Although the trade union movement has become considerably stronger, it is still encountering obstacles in its path. Would such an ally as the Social Consultative Commission not continue to be necessary to trade unionists? In a word, is the commission not finishing its work too early?

Salwa: I am deeply convinced that at their current stage of development, trade unions are stable enough to take all matters into their own hands. Eighty-one national trade unions have been registered, of which 58 have already held their statutory congresses. Further integration has occurred, a sign of which is the creation of the Board of Chairmen of National Trade Unions. Faced with these facts, we believed that the commission has accomplished its role defined by the State Council. That is why during a plenary session on 11 January this year, we decided that the work of the commission would end. We presented our proposal to the State Council, asking that our work be terminated as of 29 February. After having acquainted itself with our entire activity, the State Council acceded to our request.

Sielska: Both the State Council and the Board of Chairman have highly praised the commission and its contribution to the development of the trade unions, and have expressed their sincere thanks to the members of the commission and to you personally, professor. So it seems that the entire team can feel that it has accomplished its mission well.

Salwa: We are convinced that our work of many months standing, in no way violating the independence and self-management of the trade unions, has helped many trade union activists give a proper shape to the activity of the reemerging trade unions.

OBODOWSKI VIEWS 'REORIENTATION' OF ECONOMY

AU221338 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 12 Feb 84 p 3

["Authorized abridgment" of speech by Vice Premier Janusz Obodowski at the international scientific conference organized by the Higher School of Economic Sciences and the National Economy Institute in December 1983 on the subject of Poland in CEMA: "Poland's Economic Situation and Lines of Its Reorientation"]

[Excerpts] In 1979 the national income slumped for the first time in the history of our socialist state. That slump was a specific symptom of the crisis processes that had undermined our economy, disturbed the economic and market balance, and badly affected the development of social relations.

Crisis phenomena in our country have had their own special character in comparison to crises in capitalism.

Our crisis has not been brought to a head by overproduction. At no time have we registered any unemployment. On the contrary, labor productivity has slumped. Actually we need new workers. We have not noted any interest in lowering production costs and in technological progress.

People have increased their pressure for higher incomes, wages, social benefits, and shorter working time. This pressure has intensified the negative features of the economy.

This was the first time we had experienced a regression on such a scale. We had no means of recognizing the reasons for such a regression and of effectively combating the undesirable phenomena and processes because we had no relevant experience. The economic policy of the party and the government has always been developed in a hurry and has been immediately implemented. Time has not allowed us to act otherwise.

Our concept envisages the following activities:

- stimulating production increases, especially increases in the flow of consumer and export goods within the framework of the existing production potential;
- gradually implementing the program to liquidate the structural premises of the crisis.

In this context the implementation of the 1983-85 plan which is the final version of the program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy, should become the material basis for a long-term transformation of our economy's structure.

At this point it is worth answering the question of under what conditions we have to act and what lessons stem from this for our economic policy.

The basic internal determining factors are structural in nature and include:

- One, the failure to adapt the structure of production to the structure of actual demand: The primary reason is insufficient development of production capacities of the industries responsible for the production of consumer goods.
- Two, the threat of depreciation of production assets because of the low level of investments:

The continuation of many investments that were begun in the seventies would not only require the commitment of all the investment outlays planned for the next 5 years, but also consolidate the structures that we must abandon; under these conditions it is necessary to concentrate resources on the task of eliminating the so-called bottlenecks of the economy. The process of depreciation can and should be halted only in selected sectors.

-- Three, the invariable level of manpower, which means that production increases can follow only if social labor productivity increases and if manpower is shifted from sectors of lower productivity to sectors with relatively higher productivity.

-- Four, limited possibilities for increasing producer materials and equipment for the economy because of barriers in foreign trade, the balance of payments, and the negligible potential to develop the domestic base of raw materials.

-- Five, the weakening of the processes of technological progress and of the qualitative changes in production because of the difficulties of investments and the ineffective instruments with which to encourage innovative processes.

In the coming years we will be unable to avoid:

-- inflation; it is true that it is on the wane, but it is still socially and economically dangerous;

-- considerably burdening the economy with expenditures on social programs;

-- a considerable impact of egalitarian concepts on the country's income policy;

-- a slow, unfortunately, increase in individual consumption;

-- inability to meet all the housing demands submitted by the population.

The external conditions are also differentiated and complicated. In our relations with the capitalist countries we continue to remain under the impact of:

-- enormous indebtedness;

-- dependence on technology and producer materials in many sectors of production;

-- the continuing economic blockade.

At present our debts exceed \$28 billion. Imported producer and cooperative goods in 1982 amounted to some 50 percent of this import in 1978.

This means that a large segment of our modern production potential based on Western licenses and knowledge cannot be exploited effectively. For almost 2 years we have been importing goods from the capitalist countries for ready cash. The United States and some of its allies continue their discriminatory practices against our exports. Our participation in international trade is being made difficult and our application for readmission to the IMF is being blocked.

The government's economic policy must take account of:

- basic social goals and priorities;
- true external and internal determining factors.

What is the nature of that policy?

First of all, the policy in question envisages a long-term program for restructuring the economy and, consequently, for making profound changes in the structure of final production. We must greatly accelerate increases in domestic and export production, speed up production increases in the industries that determine our country's position in the international division of labor and modernize production equipment, and stimulate our participation in the present technological race, including the microelectronic and chemical revolution. The changes in structures depend on the investment resources administered centrally and even more so on effective measures aimed at economically stimulating investment process in enterprises in line with the aims of restructuring.

Changes in structures should be governed by the following principles:

- creating national industries based on the more sophisticated processing of coal, copper, sulfur, and domestic farm produce;
- creating conditions for accelerated development of the production of consumer goods to meet the people's basic needs;
- developing the sectors of industry of low materials and energy intensiveness and of a low incidence of polluting the natural environment;
- creating conditions for development of the production of modern quality goods to enable us to participate in the world technological race.

During the implementation of the 3-year plan we want to set up material foundations for in-depth changes in structures in 1986-90.

The program of reorientating our cooperation with foreign countries is another element of our economic policy. The program is based on efforts to tighten economic links within the framework of the socialist countries' economic integration, especially the economic relations with the USSR. This is not easy because as we know a large segment of our potential is based on Western economies and requires continuous imports of producer materials from the capitalist area. That is why the program for reorientating our economic cooperation with foreign countries is long-term in character. Nevertheless, its implementation has begun. Together with our socialist partners we are taking measures aimed at jointly commissioning some of our unfinished investment projects, at utilizing free production capacities, and at expanding industrial cooperation

Efforts to intensify economic ties with the CEMA countries, especially with the USSR, are profoundly justified. The main economic reasons for reorientating our policy include:

- One, the stable character of our cooperation, which is designed for periods of many years; it should be stressed that this cooperation is practiced by the countries with the same sociopolitical systems and the same goals of social and economic development. This means that there is no question of any seasonal factors in our relations or of any political diktat involving the policy of the "carrot and stick."

-- Two, a favorable structure of trade with the fraternal socialist countries: The distinctive feature of this trade is a large share in it of our industrial products on the side of export and a crucial share of the raw materials and fuels that we are short of, on the side of import.

-- Three, the existence of true possibilities for increasing the flow of products and services into the socialist countries in the amounts that would make it possible to develop export specialization in our country.

-- Four, favorable conditions for speedily developing industrial cooperation and specialization with the CEMA countries, because the economic development of these countries is very similar, which makes it possible to obtain mutual benefits from a suitable division of production.

-- Five, the proximity of the markets of our main socialist partners, which makes it possible to obtain the benefits resulting from "geography," that is, from the fact that transportation costs are relatively low; this issue is of special significance in view of the fact that our trade involves many goods that weigh several metric tons and that take up much space.

The share of the goods produced under international production cooperation and specialization should account for 25-30 percent of all the goods involved in Poland's trade with the CEMA countries in 1990.

We seek to achieve the following goals:

-- create more lasting economic links with our CEMA partners, primarily the USSR;

-- obtain investments resources from other CEMA countries in order to complete investment projects that were begun, but could not be completed because of the lack of resources;

-- obtain additional producer and fabricating materials in exchange for our goods and through participation in investments in other countries, such as the construction of the gas pipeline in the USSR, for example;

-- reduce our dependence on the capitalist countries through joint scientific research cooperation;

-- increase the flow of goods by acquiring the raw and other materials necessary for the production of such goods and by supplying the marketplaces with finished consumer goods, including foodstuffs;

-- overcome the shortage of materials through cooperation and participation in joint investments for the production of raw materials and fuels.

In all our activities aimed at promoting cooperation we will make allowances for the potential of our partners and for the need to constantly modernize and improve our goods offered for trade.

It is worth stressing that no CEMA country has called for breaking contacts with the capitalist countries. CEMA countries have always been in favor of economic cooperation in Europe and the world. However, we are against the use of economic instruments as weapons of political struggle. The excessive dependence of our economy on the West has become an instrument of blackmail. We have learned lessons from that.

We seek to solve the problem of our debts under the conditions that make it possible to repay them without strangling our economy. This means that the capitalist countries must first of all abandon the policy of restrictions.

In the finally reckoning such a policy produces losses primarily for those who pursue it.

Normalization of economic relations with the Western countries will not amount to a return to the economic policy of the seventies. We want to be an equal economic partner, one who acts on the principle of mutual benefits. At the same time, we will not allow our comprehensive economic and political relations with the socialist countries to be weakened.

WEEKLY CITES HUNGARIAN PRESS ON A. SCHAFF

AU241100 Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish 15 Feb 84 p 16

[Report signed "(00)": "About TU I TERAZ in Budapest"]

[Text] The Budapest weekly ELET ES IRODALOM [LIFE AND LITERATURE] has published an extensive article about the discussion that took place in TU I TERUZ and in other publications last year. As we know, that discussion was caused by Professor Adam Schaff's articles. Pal Thomas, the author of the ELET ES IRODALOM article, wrote: "I do not recall any articles in past years that were as violent as the philippics that were published during the discussion initiated by A. Schaff's articles and which lasted over 6 months. Most of those statements attacked Schaff. Their arguments and, mainly, the manner of the discussion constitute a crucial contribution to the analysis of the internal state of Polish intellectual life."

It should perhaps have been pointed out that the history of journalism in People's Poland knows of even hotter and longer discussions than the one promoted by Schaff's articles. They include that old discussion about "humanist socialism" that was initiated by Jan Strzelecki's article or that other discussion that was initiated by Kazimierz Kozniowski's article in connection with Zbigniew Zaluski's book. There have been other discussions of that kind.

However, Pal Thomas's article contained erroneous information, which Gabor Miklos, permanent correspondent of the party daily NEPSZABADSAG in Warsaw, corrects in the January issue of the Budapest publication. He throws more light on Professor Schaff's political career and adds: "I think that Pal Thomas was wrong when he wrote that the TU I TERAZ weekly published Schaff's article because in this way it wanted to 'make good' the participation of the leaders of its editorial team in the dissolution of the former union of writers. From the very beginning of its existence, TU I TERAZ has published many interesting articles that stimulated discussion and is now publishing materials resulting from the opinion polls carried out among intellectuals about the problem of socialist construction in Poland. There was also an unpleasant misunderstanding in Pal Thomas's article. The 'testament' that had been brought up during that discussion was written by Alfred Lampe, who was a member of the leadership of the old Polish Communist Party and who lived in the USSR during the war, and not by Oskar Lange, who was a notable Marxist economist."

BRIEFS

MONGOLIAN AMBASSADOR ENDS MISSION -- The ambassador of the Mongolian People's Republic, Sandagi Sosorbaram, has completed his mission in Poland and left Warsaw on 15 February. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Feb 84 p 2 AU]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ISRAELI TRADE MINISTER

AU231915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 23/2/1984 -- Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received on February 23 Gid'on Pat, minister of commerce and industry of Israel. During the talk, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, the guest keenly thanked for the opportunity offered to him to be received by the Romanian head of state, and conveyed him a warm message and best wishes on behalf of Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir. President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the message and conveyed his salute to the Israeli prime minister.

Opinions were exchanged on the evolution of the Romanian-Israeli relations, with emphasis on the existing opportunities for the development of collaboration, especially of commercial exchanges between the two countries.

During the interview a series of current international questions were also approached, with special attention to Middle East developments.

The guest expressed the Israeli Government and people's high appreciation for the stance and actions taken by Romania and her president for the settlement of the Middle East situation, and for the establishment of peace in that part of the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that Romania was firmly for a global settlement of the Middle East conflict through Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, for the resolution of the Palestinian people's issue through its guaranteed rights to self-determination and the setting up of an independent state of its own, through the ensurance of the independence and sovereignty of all the states in that area. The Romanian head of state also pointed to the importance, under the current circumstances, of negotiations among the sides directly concerned, and insisted on the taking of further initiatives in that respect apt to establishing peace in the region.

CEAUSESCU CABLES DFLP ON 15TH ANNIVERSARY

AU230826 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Feb 84 p 5

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [DFLP]

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the establishment of the DFLP, on behalf of the RCP and on my own behalf, I want to convey to you warm congratulations and wishes for new successes in your efforts to defend the fundamental interests of the friendly Palestinian people.

This anniversary constitutes an important event in the life and activities of the DFLP and occurs at a time when the world is going through processes and phenomena that clearly point to the determination of nations to put an end to imperialist, colonialist, and neocolonialist policies, to live freely and independently, and to decide sovereignly on their destinies, without any foreign interference; these are objectives whose implementation requires strengthening the unity and solidarity of all democratic and progressive forces.

Our party and Socialist Romania have always resolutely spoken out for achieving a lasting, just, and comprehensive peace in the Middle East through Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the 1967 war and resolving the problem of the Palestinian people on the basis of their right to self-determination and independent statehood.

On this occasion I want to reassert our conviction that the relations of friendship, cooperation, and militant solidarity between the RCP and the DFLP will further strengthen and develop, in a spirit of mutual esteem and respect and in the interests of the Romanian and Palestinian peoples and of the cause of freedom, national independence, peace, cooperation, and progress for all peoples.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

ANDREI MEETS LEADING POLITICAL FIGURES IN SPAIN

AU232033 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1933 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Madrid, AGERPRES 23/2/1984 -- During his official visit to Spain, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, conducted talks with Fernando Moran, minister of foreign affairs of Spain. The stage and development prospects were analyzed of bilateral relations, and extensive opinions were exchanged on the international situation.

The two foreign ministers expressed the will of the Romanian and Spanish Governments to work firmly to encourage and develop continuously the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Spain, to diversify commercial exchanges and economic and industrial cooperation, as well as the technical-scientific, cultural and other relations, in keeping with the potential and resources available in the two countries. It was agreed that actions would be taken for the preparation and calling of the joint commission of economic collaboration. At the same time, the implementation was discussed on broader actions to facilitate better knowledge and rapprochement of the two countries and peoples.

The two ministers exchanged views on the major problems of the current international life and agreed to promote the cooperation between the two states for a policy of peace and disarmament, nuclear disarmament in the first place, of detente and dialogue, of collaboration and understanding in Europe and in the world.

While in Madrid, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, had an interview with the secretary for international affairs of the Federacion de Alianza Popular, Luis Guillermo Perinat, who, on behalf of the party leader, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, conveyed thanks for the interview and talks conducted with President Nicolae Ceausescu during his recent visit to Romania.

The mutual wish was expressed to expand the contacts between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and the Federacion de Alianza Popular for the benefit of the strengthening of the Romanian-Spanish relations, of the friendship and collaboration between the two peoples.

Stefan Andrei, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, had an interview with the president of the Congress of Deputies, Gregorio Peces Barba, when problems were discussed related to the development of the relations between Romania and Spain, and the importance was brought to the fore of the relations between the two parliaments for the better knowledge and rapprochement of the two countries, for the more active promotion of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, as well as of cooperation in other fields, for the resumption of the policy of detente, independence and collaboration.

Madrid Reportage

For Madrid reportage on Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei's visit to Spain, including his talks with Spanish Foreign Minister Moran, see the Spain section of the 24 February Western Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

POPESCU TALKS WITH FLEMISH LEADERS IN BELGIUM

AU231917 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Brussels, AGERPRES 23/2/ 1984 -- Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, met in Brussels with Frank Swaelen, president of the Christian Social Party - Flemish Wing (CVP). On the occasion they highlighted the development of the relations between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and the CVP, expressing the wish to further expand those relations in the interest of the friendship between the Romanian and Belgian peoples, of the fruitful cooperation between Romania and Belgium on the economic, technical-scientific, cultural and political planes. During the talks, questions of the current European political life were approached and the need was highlighted to overcome the serious tension at present, to stop the new escalation of the nuclear arms race. The CVP president was appreciative of President Nicolae Ceausescu's remarkable peace initiatives.

Dumitru Popescu also met with Willy de Clercq, deputy prime minister and minister of finance and external trade of Belgium, member of the leadership of the Flemish Liberal Party, on which occasion both sides expressed their satisfaction at the fine relations extant between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and the Flemish Liberal Party, as well as the joint wish to expand those relations, with a view to strengthening the friendship between the Romanian and Belgian peoples, peace, confidence and security in Europe and in the world. Willy de Clercq recalled his visit to Romania, pointing out that he had been deeply impressed by his interview and talks with President Nicolae Ceausescu. During the talk, questions were approached related exchanges and economic cooperation between Romania and Belgium, in particular.

The delegation of the Romanian Communist Party also had talks with the mayor of Brussels, with Robert Urbain, minister of education and health (French sector), met with the governor of the Namur Province and visited the "Paul Pastur" University in Charleroi.

PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION HOLDS TALKS IN DENMARK

AU231918 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Copenhagen, AGERPRES 23/2/1984 -- Now on a visit of friendship to Denmark, the Romanian parliamentary delegation, led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, had an interview in Copenhagen with Svend Jakobsen, president of the parliament, with other Danish parliamentarians, leaders of political parties. Satisfaction was expressed on the occasion at the ascending course of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, peoples and parliaments. It was assessed that real possibilities existed to expand them. Stress was laid on the contribution parliamentary contacts can make to rapprochement and a better knowledge of the Romanian and Danish peoples, and the determination of the two supreme legislative forums was reiterated to work for identifying further modalities of intensifying the traditional relations of friendship between Romania and Denmark on a political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural plane.

Likewise, emphasis was placed on the high responsibility of parliaments and parliamentarians under the current particularly tense international circumstances, the wish of the two parliaments being highlighted to expand their collaboration bilaterally and within the inter-parliamentary union with a view to promoting peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over. Information was also exchanged on current concerns of the two peoples and parliaments.

NICOLAE, DINU MEET BULGARIAN CHEMICAL MINISTER

AU231916 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1859 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/2/1984 -- On February 23, Ion M. Nicolae, deputy prime minister of Romania, received Georgi Pankov, minister of chemical industry of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During the interview, satisfaction was expressed at the ascending course of the relations of close collaboration and many-sided cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria, which, on the basis of the understandings covenanted during the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov, develop and diversify continuously. Questions were also approached related to the expansion of cooperation in the chemical industry. The same day, Gheorghe Dinu, Romanian minister of chemical industry, and Georgi Pankov, minister of chemical industry of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, signed a protocol on measures for building installations in cooperation, for expanding and diversifying the exchanges of small-tonnage chemicals, medicines and other products.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO SOMALIA -- Mogadishu AGERPRES 17/2/1984 -- An exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania and Mohamed Siad Barre, president of Somalia, took place in Mogadishu. The Somali president was conveyed a message of friendship and wishes of peace, progress and prosperity for the friendly Somali people, from the Romanian head of state. Thanking warmly for the message, President Mohamed Siad Barre asked that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed a heartfelt friendly message, best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of peace, welfare and progress for the Romanian people. The exchange of messages took place when Gheorghe presented his credentials as ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Somalia. During the interview, stress was laid with satisfaction on the growing course of the Romanian-Somali relations, on the interviews and agreements reached during the Romanian-Somali summits which played a decisive role in their development. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1521 GMT 17 Feb 84 AU]

NEW ENVOY TO MOZAMBIQUE -- Maputo AGERPRES 23/2/1984 -- An exchange of messages between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Samora Moises Machel, president of Mozambique, took place in Maputo when the Mozambican head of state received the credentials of Vasile Musat, the new Romanian ambassador to that country. The president of the People's Republic of Mozambique wholeheartedly evoked the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and peoples, as well as the political, moral and material assistance granted by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu personally, to the fight for national liberation of the Mozambican people, and after the winning of political independence, to the efforts for the eradication of underdevelopment and the rise in the level of civilization of Mozambique. President Machel evoked with satisfaction his meetings with the Romanian head of state and highlighted the importance of the agreements reached and the need to carry them into effect. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0943 GMT 23 Feb 84 AU]

OPREA MEETS FRENCH BUSINESSMAN -- Bucharest AGERPRES 21/2/1984 -- First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea received on Tuesday, February 21, Georges Pertica, vice-president of French firm "Turbomeca", now on a visit to Romania. The fine relations of cooperation between Romanian machine-building enterprises and specialized firms in France were assessed during the interview while new ways of developing those relations were highlighted. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1603 GMT 21 Feb 84 AU]

SPILJAK INTERVIEWS FOCUS ON PEACE, MIDDLE EAST

VOJNO DELO Interview

LD231534 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG) -- "Despite everything, I am an optimist. I believe in the possibility of preserving world peace or, to put it a better way, in the possibility of preventing world war which would mean a catastrophe and the end of human civilization," Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in an interview granted to VOJNO DELO [MILITARY ACTION] on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of this journal's publication.

However, Spiljak stressed that peace must be fought for. "The conditions for this struggle exist," he added, "because the majority of governments and numerous peace movements are actively working against straining relations and against war."

"In a new, possibly nuclear war, both sides would be nullified. In fact, it would mean the negation of everything that man has created and that is man. This would be absurd -- the end of human history," said Spiljak.

Spiljak went on to say that "there are no people so uninformed today that they do not know in advance that there would be no victors or vanquished in a general thermonuclear war. Nuclear war would be -- as Comrade Tito warned as far back as the end of the 1950's -- a war of general defeat, primarily for those with these powerful weapons at their disposal. Reaching for the nuclear trigger would not be the result of erroneous assessments or mistaken decisions, of which there have been many in the history of warfare, but a completely irrational, suicidal act."

"We want to believe in the reason and realism of the people in charge who bear responsibility for the fate of mankind. Their responsibility is proportional to the power they have at their disposal," Spiljak stressed.

The president of the SFRY Presidency went on to say that theses relating to the possibility of limiting nuclear war in the spatial, temporal as well as other senses, especially in the arena of Europe, were now on even shakier ground. "These and similar theories," he stressed, "lose sight of one of the fundamental laws of war, about which Clausewitz spoke, and that is the tendency for the war conflict to expand to the extreme. Mankind clearly saw this law in the most apparent way in the last two world wars."

Turning to the installation of new missiles in Europe, Spiljak said that this has deepened the mistrust between the superpowers and created great tension in Europe.

"The nations of Europe feel more and more that they are objectively becoming the prisoners of the superpowers' nuclear strategy. Most of all, this concerns those countries on whose territory these missiles are being installed. However, other countries, including our own, cannot remain indifferent," Spiljak said. He added:

"It cannot be a matter of indifference to us that such dangerous weapons, whose trajectories cross above our heads, are being installed around our country, especially as we know that in one possible configuration of the world military and political situation these weapons could be aimed at targets in our country, too. We are, therefore, very interested in realizing the idea of the denuclearization of the Balkans which is gaining more and more supporters."

"The only way to prevent all possible negative consequences of an arms race is to remove the political causes of that phenomenon; in other words, to first embark seriously upon talks for limiting strategic weapons and medium-range weapons, and then on general disarmament. We should also bear in mind," Spiljak continued, "that the development of military technology and equipment also contains its own internal laws. We are talking here about the competition between offensive and defensive weapons. The process of obsolescence for these two kinds of weapons is today acquiring such a dimension and such an intensity that some people qualify it as a special kind of war with weapons which do not destroy each other but rather render each other less potent."

"In this vicious circle, which has no end, without the conscious action of subjective factors the stockpiles of weapons mount and their destructive qualities grow constantly. In the end, this can lead to these processes slipping out from under man's control and to his becoming a slave to the products of his own mind and his own production practice. In all this, a certain role also lies with the irrational elements in man's behavior -- religious, national, and ideological fanaticism, and various other fetishes," said Spiljak.

Replying to a question on the influence of global military strategic plans on the security of small and medium-sized countries, to which Yugoslavia belongs, Spiljak recalled that, following World War II, numerous limited wars of a conventional and partisan nature were waged in certain regions of the world. "Many are being waged now also. Strains in relations between the superpowers must, among other things, create an atmosphere in which the application of military force on a limited scale can be stepped up. This is an effort to prevent a new wave of world anticolonial revolution," the president of the SFRY Presidency stressed.

Spiljak said that the process of decolonialization was practically over by the 1960's. The imperialist forces then applied a new strategy based on the indirect use of military force and the direct use of economic, financial, scientific and technical, and technological aid. These are the means for a special kind of war. The aim is to establish new forms of domination, subordination, and neocolonialism.

"Thus, the plundering of natural resources and the use of cheap labor from the developing countries through the expansion of capital and the transfer of technology is not only continuing but further intensifying. These countries have had a dependent development imposed on them which has led to their overindebtedness, with the result that the overall debts of developing countries today stand at about \$700 billion. Such a course of events threatens to bring about the downfall of the entire international monetary system with consequences which are not difficult to conjecture."

"For this reason," Spiljak continued, "the imperialist powers are again returning to a military strategy to prevent this process using military force, intervention, and direct involvement in local wars, and to blunt the cutting edge of the Nonaligned Movement's struggle for radical changes in the international economic order. In these circumstances, the threat to the security of all countries, including our own, is heightened."

"Our country's military strategic position, seen in the long term, will depend on future trends in Europe, the development of the Middle East crisis, and relations in the Balkans, especially in connection with the controversial position and activity of Albania. We must bear all this in mind and constantly and actively work toward calming the situation and finding peaceful solutions to all international problems. The framework of our activity at the foreign level remains the same: the movement and policy of nonalignment and the development of fruitful cooperation on an equal basis with all countries and progressive movements in the world, particularly the development of good relations with all neighboring countries."

"Our concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection," Spiljak recalled, "is the concrete historical form for realizing Marx's idea of an armed people and, as Comrade Tito stressed on one occasion, the creative application of the experience of our national liberation struggle and revolution in contemporary conditions. In Tito's revolutionary and military thought and activity," he added, "human subjectivity as the decisive factor of war and armed struggle has found full expression."

"The Yugoslav People's Army without a doubt constitutes the backbone of the system of all-people's defense, on which all other elements in the system and in the defense structures of society rest. Our army should and must be a support for all our nations and nationalities, as Comrade Tito said in his last address to representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army in December 1979 in Karadjordjevo."

"Various deviant manifestations in society which appear in different ways -- from bureaucratic centralism to bureaucratic separatism, bourgeois liberalism, nationalism, irredentism, and various forms of counterrevolutionary activity -- do not have and in the future must not have any place in our armed forces. The forces must continue to act as a stabilizing factor in our society, a factor which heightens and consolidates its homogeneity. This role of theirs follows from their popular and revolutionary character and the fact that our armed forces, through their existence and activity, guarantee the highest common interest of all our nations and nationalities, as well as all working people and citizens -- our defense interest," Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in conclusion.

Mideast Crisis Examined

NC231542 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1310 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (MENA) -- SFRY President Mika Spiljak has stressed that the SFRY is confident that Egypt's return to the Arab fold will strengthen the Arab countries and their unison and ability in seeking a just solution to the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian issue.

In an exclusive statement to a MENA correspondent in Belgrade, Spiljak said that the resumption of diplomatic relations between the SFRY and Israel is contingent upon Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab territory occupied since the 1967 aggression. Israel must also refrain from the aggressive policy it is pursuing in the area. He said that the SFRY considers the Middle East crisis as very complicated and as having a great effect on world peace and security. He said: In this respect, I would like to point out the responsibility of the entire international community, particularly the parties concerned. We support all initiatives that we believe can effect this crisis and create conditions for solving the issue comprehensively and permanently.

Spiljak said that the SFRY supports international efforts to solve the Middle East crisis. We, however, believe that first and foremost these efforts must be directed through UN channels. We believe the United Nations still constitutes the sole realistic political framework for solving this crisis. He further said that, naturally, in order for these efforts to succeed, a common course and basic principles must be defined by all the Arab countries with the participation of all parties concerned, particularly the PLO.

Spiljak said that it is well known that Israel and the forces that support it base their strategy on the contradictions and disputes in the Arab world.

He said: At the same time, I want to affirm that successful international efforts require further participation from the nonaligned countries, particularly since they constitute an irreplaceable element in international relations.

Speaking about his forthcoming visit to Egypt on the day after tomorrow, Saturday, Spiljak said that he has been looking forward to this visit for a long time in order to intimately understand this country which has such a great cultural history. He affirmed that there are no problems between the two countries. He pointed out that he is paying this visit to Egypt in order to develop existing fraternal relations, and said that this visit will further boost bilateral relations.

Asked about the future prospects for the historic relations between Egypt and Yugoslavia, particularly following the positive developments in the past 2 years through the exchange of high-level visits, Spiljak said that relations between our friendly and non-aligned countries are developing successfully. This successful development is based on the foundations of the traditional friendship laid down by the two great departed leaders Tito and 'Abd an-Nasir.

The Yugoslav president said: We sincerely desire to promote and further deepen the traditional friendship between Egypt and Yugoslavia because this represents the basic guarantee for developing the comprehensive and successful cooperation which meets our two countries' mutual interest.

He noted in this respect the important results that have been achieved in bilateral cooperation and in developing relations, particularly through President Husni Mubarak's successful visit to Yugoslavia as well as through other high-level meetings, which encourage further cooperation in various fields.

President Spiljak affirmed the existence of several as yet unexploited possibilities for comprehensive and broader development of bilateral relations, particularly in the economic field, which provides great potential and a mutual interest.

Answering a question on the possibility that Yugoslavia will carry out an effective role for the resumption of the dialogue between the two superpowers, the Yugoslav president said his country, which is among the peaceloving countries advocating cooperation on an equal basis in the world, has always sought solutions to questions and conflicts by peaceful means and through negotiations.

He said Yugoslavia calls for the need for a dialogue between the two superpowers -- which shoulder the greatest responsibility for peace, security, and relaxation in the world -- in order to resolve their conflicts and differences in their relations, which affect the whole world.

President Spiljak added: We are particularly interested in dialogue and fundamental negotiations to emerge from the vicious circle that causes the destructive arms race. Meanwhile, the international situation can be improved by joint and decisive activity by all members of the international community under the banner of the United Nations. The Nonaligned Movement, to which Yugoslavia and Egypt have belonged since its foundation 25 years ago, advocate the course of peace and cooperation and seek to translate these objectives into deeds through constructive efforts.

Regarding Yugoslav-Arab relations, the Yugoslav president noted that his coming visit to the YAR and the PDRY after his Cairo visit come within the framework of developing the traditional friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the Arab states.

He said the recent developments in the Middle East require the exchange of views between Yugoslavia and the friendly Arab states.

Following his visit to Egypt, President Spiljak will visit San'a' 27-28 February at the invitation of YAR President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih. He will then visit Aden from 28 February to 2 March at the invitation of PDRY leader 'Ali Nasir Muhammad.

SPILJAK, ZARKOVIC VISITS TO EGYPT, USSR ANNOUNCED

LD231914 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1356 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG) -- At today's regular press conference in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Zeljko Jeglic, official press spokesman for the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, read out a statement on the visit by Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, to the Arab Republic of Egypt. The statement says:

Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, will pay a return official and friendly visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt from 25 to 27 February this year. The delegation accompanying the president of the SFRY Presidency includes Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Rade Pavlovic, member of the Federal Executive Council and chairman of the Federal Committee for Energy and Industry; and other officials.

Zeljko Jeglic then read out a press statement on the visit by Vidoje Zarkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, to the Soviet Union.

As announced earlier, the official press spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said, Vidoje Zarkovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, will visit the Soviet Union with a delegation from 27 February to 2 March this year.

At today's press conference, the official press spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs read a statement on the criminal proceedings against some Greek students, which says:

The Yugoslav security organs detained five Greek citizens, who were studying in Yugoslavia, in December 1983 on charges that they were engaged in illegal activities in our country directed against the foundations of the socialist, self-management order and the security of the SFRY (Article 128 of the Criminal Law of the SFRY).

During the investigation, the preliminary information on their activity was fully confirmed, and the Yugoslav authorities have relevant proof and documents on this.

The SFRY Presidency, bearing in mind the interest in the development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation between the SFRY and the Republic of Greece, has decided to halt further criminal proceedings against these five Greek citizens. In accordance with this decision, the Greek citizens will be released, expelled from the SFRY, and prohibited from entering the country for 5 years.

At the end of today's regular press conference, Zeljko Jeglic was asked: Is an official visit to Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union expected soon? He added the following reply:

At the invitation of Borislav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, Ziya Nuriyevich Nuriyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will visit Yugoslavia from 27 February to 3 March this year.

Zarkovic Visit 'Opportunity'

LD232141 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, February 23 (TANJUG) -- We expect the forthcoming visit of Presidency of Yugoslavia Vice President Vidoje Zarkovic to the Soviet Union to represent a contribution to development of friendly relations of the two countries and to stimulate their further successful mutual cooperation. The above was stated today, Thursday, in Belgrade in an official statement published on Zarkovic's pending visit from February 27 to March 2.

The statement stresses that Zarkovic's talks with his host, first vice-chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Vasilii Kuznetsov, and other Soviet leaders will provide an opportunity for a comprehensive exchange of views on bilateral relations and current international questions.

The Yugoslav-Soviet relations founded on the well-known jointly adopted principles are very good and mutual cooperation in various fields is very well developed, it is assessed in the statement. The statement further stresses that "the pending visit represents a continuity of long-standing points of contact and dialogues between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union at both high and top levels."

DRAGAN BRIEFS BUSINESSMEN ON TRADE WITH U.S.

AU231021 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 84 p 7

[Z. Todorovic report]

[Excerpts] In the economic relations between Yugoslavia and the United States, both sides are making increased efforts to promote long-term cooperation and to establish, primarily, a more even commodity exchange. The leading American banks are also willing to finance new transactions between the two countries so that the Yugoslav economy can prepare itself as soon as possible for more normal operations on the capital market and not to carry this out, as the current practice shows, by means of special interventions.

Thus, in fact, Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, briefly informed businessmen from throughout the country at the Section for Economic Relations between the United States and Yugoslavia of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber about certain positions of the U.S. Government officials and representatives of financial corporations. This mood is based primarily on our economy's more successful exports to the convertible currency area, where a surplus was achieved last year, as well as on the implementation of difficult goals of economic stabilization.

Certain moves of both sides are significant. Thus, for instance, a proposal will soon be submitted to the SFRY Assembly containing 13 vital changes in the system of joint ventures of foreign financiers and the Yugoslav economy. It is possible, among other things, to speak about duplicated offers and about certain very large transactions.

Therefore, it was not without reason that a very polemical discussion of businessmen began on the latest news about cooperation between the Geneks and INA work organizations with the U.S. Occidental Petroleum Company. For the time being, it is only known that Occidental will deliver 1.75 million metric tons of oil and 2-3 million metric tons of coal per year at a total value of nearly \$400 million.

In this way, opportunities will be created for a greater export of all products, naturally, in accordance with the high requirements of the American market. Occidental requests to be included in the prospecting for oil and natural gas in the Adriatic and stipulates that the contract from the Yugoslav side be signed only by a single firm -- Geneks or INA.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON PLANINC LIBYA VISIT

LD231918 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG) -- A joint communique on the visit paid by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah [SPLAJ] was published in Belgrade and Tripoli today. The text of the communique reads:

Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY, paid an official friendly visit to the SPLAJ 20-22 February 1984 at the invitation of Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab, secretary of the SPLAJ General People's Committee. During the visit, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, also held talks with Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great 1 September Revolution, and conveyed to him the SFRY Presidency's greetings and its wishes for the successful development and progress of the friendly Libyan people.

During the talks, held in an atmosphere of mutual trust and openness, the president of the Federal Executive Council and the secretary of the General People's Committee carried out an exhaustive exchange of views on the state of bilateral relations and on possibilities for expanding cooperation between the SFRY and the SPLAJ, as well as on the current international situation and the problems that burden the world today.

During their talks they noted the successful development of bilateral relations and emphasized the need for a continuing exchange of views at a high level, as agreed during the earlier meetings between the two countries' statesmen. Both sides agreed on the need to exert further efforts to promote and broaden all the forms of cooperation and on the need for even firmer friendly relations between the two countries.

In the past period, the two friendly nonaligned countries have achieved a high level of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Note was taken of the existence of great possibilities for expanding and promoting it and it was pointed out that certain unsolved questions, which are a natural reflection of the dynamic development of these relations, should continue to be settled on the basis of mutual understanding and of respect for both sides' interests.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the work of the seventh session of the mixed committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation, which was held during the Federal Executive Council president's visit to the SPLAJ.

They emphasized their profound anxiety over the present unfavorable development of the situation in the world and the general exacerbation of international relations as a consequence of the rivalry between the great powers and the blocs, of their arms race, military interventions, and increased interference in the internal affairs of independent countries. They pointed out the danger from transferring bloc rivalry to the regions of the nonaligned world, owing to which a considerable number of independent and nonaligned countries are exposed to various forms of pressure.

Particular anxiety was voiced during the talks concerning the situation in the Near East and developments in Lebanon, which seriously threaten peace and security in the region of the Mediterranean and further afield and hinder the prospects for finding a just, lasting, and all-embracing solution to the Near East crisis and the Palestinian problem. Stress was placed in this connection on the importance of Arab countries' solidarity and their support for and aid to the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the realization of their legitimate historical rights under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative.

When the situation in Lebanon and the latest events in that country were considered, emphasis was placed on the need to renew the independence of Lebanon and preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The basic prerequisites for attaining these goals are to be found in the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon and the realization of national reconciliation.

The two sides expressed profound anxiety at the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war and reiterated the need for the speediest termination of this conflict between these two countries in a peaceful manner, on the basis of the UN Charter and the principles of the policy of nonalignment. They reaffirmed their full support for all the initiatives and efforts being taken to this end on the international scene, within the Nonaligned Movement and the Islamic countries' organization.

The two sides reaffirmed that they attach great importance to security in the Mediterranean, which is closely linked with security in Europe. The presence and intrusiveness of foreign powers and stockpiling of weapons, including nuclear weapons, in the Mediterranean increase the threat to peace further afield in the world and make it necessary to act more energetically to transform the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and international cooperation.

It was also judged that in the exacerbated international conditions, the nonaligned policy and movement have an irreplaceable role to play and bear increased responsibility as a confirmed independent factor which contributes to settling the existing problems and crises throughout the world. The need was stressed for an even more active implementation of the conclusions and recommendations of the seventh conference of nonaligned countries, which is making an even greater contribution to increasing the movement's ability to work for the preservation and strengthening of peace, for equal cooperation in the world, and for the realization of every people's right to independent and free development.

The two sides confirmed the importance of the OAU as an important element in the preservation of peace, independence, and faster economic development for the continent's developing countries. The talks confirmed the irreplaceable role which lies with this organization in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and all other forms of foreign pressure and domination, as well as for solving all the African Continent's problems.

Support was reiterated for the struggle by the people of South Africa against the racist regime and for the demands that the South African regime's aggressive actions against Angola and Mozambique should be stopped. Solidarity was also confirmed with the struggle to remove colonialism and racism in Africa. The two sides demand an end to the occupation of Namibia and the withdrawal of the racist regimes's forces from territory in the south of the continent with a view to realizing the UN decisions relating to Namibia.

The two sides expressed the great importance of finding a solution to the problem of Western Sahara in keeping with the decisions and standpoints of the United Nations, the OAU, and the Nonaligned Movement.

The need was indicated for strengthening the role of the United Nations in international relations as a forum for solving international problems, with respect for the principle of equality among all countries and rejecting the negative influences of the superpowers.

Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the end of her visit expressed gratitude to the friendly General People's Committee for the cordial hospitality and warm reception given to her and the delegation. She invited Mohammad az-Zarruq Rajab, secretary of the General People's Committee of the SPLAJ, to visit Yugoslavia. The invitation was accepted with pleasure and the date of the visit will be set subsequently.

BORBA ON TRADE WITH LIBYA, PLANINC VISIT

AU231723 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 84 p 5

[Text] Tripoli -- The regular session of the Yugoslav-Libyan economic and scientific-technical cooperation committee, which is expected to open even wider prospects for and offer new stimuli to the cooperation between the two countries, is underway in Tripoli. Expectations for this meeting are especially connected with the official 3-day visit of Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], who is scheduled to arrive in Libya today.

For a long time, Libya has been one of Yugoslavia's largest economic partners among nonaligned countries, both in trade and scientific-technical cooperation and in carrying out investment projects. Libya is in second place in this regard after Iraq. Last year Yugoslav-Libyan trade totalled \$540 million in both directions (about \$40 million less than in 1982). But what is encouraging is that Yugoslav exports last year increased 18 percent, and new investment projects, to the value of about \$550 million, have been contracted. Especially important contracts have been signed in the exports of textiles.

The value of the projects carried out here by Yugoslav enterprises totals about \$2 billion. About 10,000 Yugoslavs, including over 1,000 health workers, have been engaged in these projects.

The mixed committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation yesterday worked in groups which more specifically discussed the possibilities for expanding commodity trade and investment projects as well as cooperation in industry (the stress lying on establishing higher forms of cooperation), transportation, agriculture, and science and technology.

Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the FEC and chairman of the Yugoslav part of the committee, had talks the day before yesterday and yesterday with several members of the Libyan General People's Committee (government) -- the secretaries for planning, for treasury, for heavy industries, and for economy and light industries.

Mustafa Nazmi, member of the FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, is also in Tripoli where he also had meetings with Libyan personalities. The talks dealt especially with possibilities for greater participation of our work organizations in constructing roads and railroads in Libya.

FINANCE SECRETARY RETURNS FROM NETHERLANDS

LD240028 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2106 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, February 23 (TANJUG) -- Member of the Yugoslav Government and Federal Finance Secretary Vlado Klemencic returned from an official visit to the Netherlands this evening (Thursday).

During his visit he had talks with Netherlands Finance Minister Dr Herman Ruding on current economic issues, particularly banking-financial cooperation. Klemencic and Ruding also discussed multilateral financial issues which will be on the agenda of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank meeting to be held shortly.

During his visit, the federal secretary also had talks in the Netherlands Central Bank on questions concerning the further promotion of trade, industrial, and other forms of cooperation between the two countries. Lemencic also had talks with Foreign Trade Minister F. Bolkestein on current questions of banking cooperation.

At the end of his visit, Federal Finance Secretary Vlado Klemencic was received by Kingdom of the Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

CCSR, HUNGARY ON 'INTERNATIONALISM' VIEWED

AU221930 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 84 p 2

[Permanent correspondent S. Djukic report]

[Excerpts] Prague, 17 Feb -- Although for no immediate reason, the discussion about "proletarian internationalism" continues, which shows how the disputes about this principle impinge on certain essential relations in the international workers movement. Two articles in the Prague press and one in the Hungarian press have attracted attention by their contents.

The party weekly TRIBUNA recently denounced the division of the communist parties into those "loyal to the Soviet Union" and those which assert that it is "necessary to jealously defend autonomy and independence," and it stated that stressing one's own road to socialism and giving primacy to national traits is "a revisionist approach." According to the assertions of this weekly, the economic privileges in the West are only a "lure" with which the capitalist countries "try to attract socialist states so that they renounce internationalist principles and conduct a so-called independent policy, which would lead to their return to the capitalist fold."

Vasil Bejda muses in a similar vein in the party weekly for politics, science, and culture, TVORBA. In an article entitled "On the Dialectics of Relations Between the International and National Traits," Bejda polemizes with views which "under the guise of false patriotism, dispute the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism."

Although it does not directly mention limited sovereignty, TVORBA believes that it is necessary not only to build socialism on the principles of Marxism, but also "to defend it jointly, in solidarity, and resolutely against the attacks of imperialism."

The author also criticizes the spread of the pacifist attitude from the positions of equal distance." It is a matter of some views, the author continues, that the essence of the current military danger is "the contest of the superpowers," and that "for a small socialist country it is best to keep out of it." It is not evident from the article which small socialist country the author has in mind when he speaks about the behavior based on "equal distance."

Change in the "Hierarchical Order"

The two articles draw the attention of observers even because of the fact that many communist parties in the world today dispute the terms proletarian and socialist internationalism both in essence and formally.

Therefore, these terms were omitted from the joint declaration of the Berlin conference of the communist and workers and workers parties of Europe (1976). Although close cooperation is certainly not brought into question, many parties put the principle of independence and responsibility to their workers class and their people in the forefront.

Polemics about proletarian internationalism have been going on for several years and, with more or less sharpness, they have become a part of the exchange of views in which the parties of Eurocommunist orientation have been particularly involved. In recent weeks, an article was also published in the Hungarian party journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE, which expresses surprise because of, as it said, "a confusing schematic interpretation of proletarian internationalism."

The world of the ideas of socialism is experiencing reexaminations which were unthinkable until yesterday. They are even becoming normal occurrences, which only the irreconcilably dogmatic spirits find difficult to digest. What is new, however, is that these discussions are provoking less and less antagonism, with lasting consequences, and that they are appearing more and more frequently in the East, too. Occasional polemical sparks, such as were flying recently for various reasons among organs of "brotherly countries" (Bucharest, Budapest, Prague, Warsaw, and Moscow), are quietly tolerated and are generally accepted with less fear than before, under the condition that the basic levers of cooperation on key questions -- such as membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and a common international policy -- are not changed.

The differences in internal policy, especially in economics, naturally provoke various views in socialist practice. But life goes on. For instance, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are cooperating closely in the economy and within the Warsaw Pact. While different views on "proletarian internationalism" may be heard, let us mention, economic integration between the two countries is strengthening at the same time, and joint maneuvers of the armies of the USSR, CSSR, and Hungary have just been held in the CSSR.

To live and to cooperate with different views has become a fact of the international workers movement. This is more and more a fact in the "socialist community," too.

POLITIKA ON HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL REFORM

AU231208 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 84 p 3

[Report by permanent correspondent Slavoljub Djukic]

[Excerpts] Budapest, February -- When Western journalists come to the East, they first describe what the shops look like. Lines and empty shop windows have long provided a ground for unfavorable comment in the propaganda war between the two systems. Surely because of that, well-supplied Budapest is now described both with an element of surprise and with exaggeration as the shop window of the East.

The lessons of the past have certainly been learned well. The struggle against enemies who traditionally were presented as the greatest threat to socialism, has been replaced by a struggle against material shortages which, of course, breed disaffection among the people.

It also strikes one that the West systematically talks about human rights in the East and the restriction of freedom, just as the East constantly stresses the problems of social insecurity, exploitation, and unemployment in the West. Everybody is searching for weak spots "on the other side" and makes use of the slightest occasion.

The Case of Tibor Deri

The Hungarians have begun the first visible changes in their economy. "Simply admitting that we have different interests in the economy brings certain freedoms," Professor Jozsef Bogнар said to us. Although today it is more and more often being said that socialist relations cannot be reduced to the material sphere and that efficient economic reform is not possible without social reform, the spiritual and political climate in Hungary actually began to change long ago. One of the key roles in this was played by Kadar's slogan, "He who is not against us is with us," which had a wider political meaning than appeared at first. It is easier to understand the significance of this slogan if one knows under what circumstances Hungary emerged from the war (at the time when there was party pluralism, the Communist Party did not obtain a majority), and even more so when one remembers the bloody events of 1956.

Here one recalls Tibor Deri, well-known Hungarian writer, prewar leftist, who was sentenced to 8 years in prison because of his active participation in the 1956 events (and served 3 years), but then was awarded the highest national order in the 80th year of his life. People change their persuasions when social conditions change. Dogmatism and career bureaucratism, they tell us, create enemies, and a policy striving for lasting stabilization creates friends. "After all, the enemy is usually not stupid. He does not attack where we are strong but where we are weak. We will not accept what he recommends, but we must listen carefully to his criticism," Peter Renyi, journalist and member of the MSZMP Central Committee, said to us.

In the search for wider support, the valves of freer speech have been opened. But the problem of democracy has not been exhausted in this way, as much as free speech may be the basic prerequisite for a higher level of socialist relations.

As time passed, it was shown that relations in the social sphere are lagging behind the changes in the economy and that this is acting as a brake on reform. In these deliberations, three groups of problems arise: 1. problems linked with the party's role; 2. democratization of cadre policy; 3. the influence of public opinion on social institutions and their decisions.

The question of the party's leading role does not arise in this connection but the substance of this role is being discussed. "It proceeds from the fact," Jozsef Szabo, rector of the MSZMP Central Committee Political Academy in Budapest, says, "that the party's role in a single party system is the least investigated." Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Central Committee, former member of the Politburo, and one of the architects of the economic reform, says: "Our solution is not ideal in view of a single political force and the Western solution is also not ideal in view of the numerous forces which mutually block each other." For this reason in our country, it is being attempted within the one party system to pluralize interests which the old ideological concepts did not recognize. "By the very fact that there are people in the party who favor a reform and those who oppose it, a certain pluralism exists and must be legalized," says Bogнар, who believes that the party should issue as few instructions as possible and be more of an arbiter.

New Political Slogans

One of the new political messages in Hungary, about which Imre Pozsgay, secretary general of the PPF, spoke to us, is well known to Yugoslavs: "There can be no democratization of society without democratization of the party." It remains to be seen what the practical result of this important political principle will be, a principle which above all implies the participation of members in party policy.

"In 1956, we saw what happens when party members are mere observers and when they are in a situation in which they behave in a flattering manner," Pozsgay says. The impressive masses, which are represented in proclamations as a great political force, in critical situations frequently demonstrate characteristics quite different from those that are officially ascribed to them. Parts of these masses are even found on the other side of the line.

A separate topic is democratization of cadre policy which, as we have heard here, is still more wishful thinking than reality. Part of this is the new electoral law which provides for several candidates at the next elections (1985). The very idea represents a significant innovation in this country where a persistent search for new solutions is going on.

The essence of the electoral law is expressed in this way: "So far we have had uncertainty in the selection of candidates and certainty in elections. Our wish is to have certainty in the nomination and uncertainty in the election, and thus the responsibility of officials should increase." This also is the purpose of the current policy, which aims at opening the door for the people actually to participate in public affairs to a greater extent than in the past.

JANZIC ON ATTEMPTS TO FORM OPPOSITION, ATTACKS

AU231451 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 84 p 6

[R. Kovacevic report]

[Text] Workers believe in the LCY and in its revolutionary continuity and action ability although they call attention with all sharpness to individual cases of erosion of morals and other negative occurrences in society. The demands that the key tasks emanating from the LCY program be fulfilled without fear of mistakes must be realistically interpreted.. These are only some of the appraisals which were made yesterday in talks between the leadership of the Split party organization and Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. The theses for discussion were provided by Janzic himself, who expressed the view that the resolutions and other programmatic documents of the LCY are always good both in spirit and substance but that troubles develop when it is time to implement the spirit of the conclusions. There is frequently a gap between words and deeds and between what is proclaimed, on one hand, and the results achieved at the grass-roots level and life, on the other.

"Yugoslav society as a whole has problems in this connection," Janzic said.

The importance of this observation is especially great now when we are struggling to overcome the economic difficulties in which our country has found itself. Here and there, some small groups appear aiming at an organized struggle against LCY policy. What is involved in this connection, Janzic emphasized, are the attempts to form an organized opposition and to impose it as an alternative force to the LCY. Voices have been also heard offering a restoration of the capitalist system and, at the same time, those who secretly wish for statist and strong arm concepts have been heard to the same extent.

The question is to what an extent the LCY is effectively struggling with these problems and what is the quality of actions and debates aimed at ensuring that the LCY will continue to follow the course of a revolutionary workers' party and movement. We have a reliable system to revolutionize society, Janzic pointed out, and the LCY must not fail to implement the programmatic principles that are a part of its historical commitments. New forces and the criticism that destroys the bureaucratic relations and false authorities must be developed among the Communists.

Comrade Tito was the factor of integration of our society as a whole, Janzic said. Now, when he is no longer alive, every individual Communist should be precisely that and should represent an agent that rallies the ranks of that self-managing socialist society. It is necessary to bear in mind the fact that something has been happening lately that no one would have expected 5 years ago. There are very open attacks on LCY policy. For instance, it was hard to imagine that a part of the press would treat the nomination of candidates for the SFRY Presidency in such an unacceptable way.

There should be no illusions that every one of the 2 million LCY members will always fulfill his duties but it is necessary to constantly continue to develop a revolutionary sharpness among the majority of them and not to allow any activities against the policy and reputation of the LCY, something that is also an international obligation.

VLASI ADDRESSES BELGRADE AKTIV ON KOSOVO SITUATION

AU231948 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Azem Vlasi, president of the communal committee of the LC of Pristina, has had talks with the political aktiv of Belgrade and the aktiv of communist journalists on the political situation in Pristina and in Kosovo and on the tasks of the LC. Vlasi pointed out that the LC is in full control of the situation in the province.

According to his assessment, the political security situation in general is no longer burdened by elements of destabilization. The situation is being assessed more realistically in all communities, for the awareness has grown of the danger of underestimating nationalism. Many negative occurrences have also been eliminated, but nationalism still burdens some spheres of social life. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, Vlasi stressed, is a most complex problem which weighs not only on the situation in Kosovo, but also on that in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Azem Vlasi advocated joint coordinated actions which should lead -- we quote -- to an equalization of the assessments of the gravity of the problem and to a gradual halting of emigration.

More on Vlasi Remarks

LD240048 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG) -- In Kosovo today, there are no major and complex problems which the League of Communists is unable to solve. Sociopolitical life is proceeding more normally and the stabilization processes are more and more visible. This assessment was voiced by Azem Vlasi, president of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, who is visiting Belgrade with a delegation of his town, at the beginning of his speech to the political aktiv of Belgrade and the aktiv of communist journalists.

Azem Vlasi stressed that the general pacification of the situation is only a prerequisite for a planned long-term action by the League of Communists. There are still people in the League of Communists, Vlasi said, who think that once things have calmed down there should be no need for any deeper action aimed at changing the existing practices. However, the majority are in favor of overcoming certain attitudes in all aspects of social life in order to ensure a real guarantee that the 1981 situation will not be repeated.

Azem Vlasi also spoke about the concrete results achieved in the stabilization of the political situation.

We have not yet established the kind of political climate and atmosphere in social relations that would entitle us to say that everybody in Kosovo feels equal. More time will be needed to strengthen the atmosphere of trust, which is vital when people live together, Vlasi said with reference to the problem of the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins and its causes, Vlasi said that up to 1981 this theme was virtually taboo and that since then much time and effort have been needed to harmonize attitudes and views. The political climate has also been aggravated, according to Vlasi, by the one-sided treatment of this problem in a section of the press.

The question of emigration, Vlasi said, is not only the question of concern for those who move, but is a fundamental issue of our life together. He stressed that the main tasks concerning the prevention of emigration are those that face the Communists of Kosovo, but said that outside Kosovo this problem should also not be viewed with indifference.

Azem Vlasi spoke about the current economic situation and about a number of indicators that show that last year the fall in production was halted in Kosovo and that conditions have been created for a revival of economic growth. He described unemployment as one of the most acute economic and social problems. Speaking about economic processes, he dwelt in particular on the positive examples of the pooling of resources between organizations of associated labor in Kosovo and those in other parts of the country during the past 2 years. Kosovo enterprises signed a total of 17 self-management agreements on joint investing with enterprises from Serbia, excluding the two provinces and Belgrade, and a total of 57 with work organizations from the entire country, Vlasi said.

Speaking about the prolonged enemy activity in Kosovo and particularly the activity of the most extreme individuals and groups indoctrinated by the ideology of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, Azem Vlasi particularly dwelt on the motives concentrated behind the slogan "Kosovo a Republic." This slogan, in Vlasi's view, is particularly useful to the enemy because it appeals to all those who see etatism as a guarantee that their aims will be attained, as well as those who are ignorant and think that the irredentists' aim is a Kosovo Republic of Yugoslavia and fail to see that the final aim is the secession of Kosovo and all the Albanian-populated areas from the Yugoslav community. Behind these forces stands the leadership of Albania, propaganda from Albania, and a strong alliance with emigre forces abroad, Vlasi said.

Neither we nor the Yugoslav public need any glossing over in reporting on Kosovo, Vlasi said, referring to the role played by the information media in reporting from Kosovo. This is primarily so because we still feel the consequences of the efforts to present the state of affairs as better than it was. However, our relations as a whole and the Yugoslav public opinion have been harmed by the policy for which some editorial boards have opted, which is to report only what is negative and black in Kosovo. We are in favor of being objective when reporting on Kosovo in a way which will help our action and our public and our prestige in the eyes of the world.

SERBIAN PRESIDENCY VIEWS 'HOSTILE' NATIONALISM

AU151438 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 84 p 2

[Dusan Drazic article: "One Can Recognize Nationalisms Better"]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of this week, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia discussed the hostile activity of nationalists. This topic was on the agenda with good reason because nationalists of various hues and groups are raising their heads.

It is not only that they are making themselves heard but in this socioeconomic and political time in the SR of Serbia and the country as a whole, they are trying with some of their activities to destabilize the self-managing socialist society. They attack the achievements of the revolution, primarily brotherhood and unity, and everything that has been achieved in the postwar development. Nationalism -- it was said at the latest session of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia -- is dangerous and represents a hostile act directed against the SFRY.

In this activity, nationalists, who operate from hostile positions, stubbornly seek allies primarily among the ranks of those who are inclined in a antiself-managing and antisocialist way. Their intention is to create a joint platform and to operate in a more organized manner against the constitutional system. Thus, for instance, even before and during the counterrevolutionary events four groups of irredentists operated in Kosovo which have now united on a clear orientation to separate Kosovo from the SFRY and to create an ethnically pure region.

Or, for instance, anarcholiberals, nationalists, and supporters of other movements gathered at Aleksandar Rankovic's funeral, although they, so to speak, opposed his work and personality only until yesterday.

It is also noticeable that last December in a number of towns in the territory of the republic proper, a number of leaflets and slogans appeared in which various threats, messages, and appeals, primarily from the nationalist positions, were addressed to Serbs. This clearly indicates the method and manner of activity of hostilely oriented nationalists. Recently even legal institutions, such as certain public information media, certain publications, or the activity of certain scientific, cultural, and publishing organizations have been used. Naturally, forms of special warfare such as the skillful dissemination of disinformation and various intrigues have also not been bypassed.

What causes special concern and draws attention is that nationalism is also appearing among young people. There have been nationalist phenomena in certain university departments, certain student dormitories, and in the secondary school centers. Although, as is already known, the distribution of pamphlets or scribbling of hostile symbols or slogans is most expressed in Kosovo, this occurrence is becoming increasingly more frequent in certain other circles in the republic.

Reactionary Religious Circles Are Also Being Awakened

The rare individuals from the religious communities who are reactionarily oriented have also hastened to join the nationalist dance and they are adding fat to the fire with their activity. Such individuals and small groups also exist in the ranks of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Islamic religious community, and the Catholic Church. These individuals and small groups use religion to flare up nationalist intolerance, and even chauvinism. Naturally, no one even thinks in this connection to accuse all believers. On the contrary, just as in the past, we respect the religious right and the freedom of citizens to practice religion and of the religious communities to pursue their activities in accordance with the Constitution and law. One means only those individuals and little groups which use religion to stir up national intolerance and which identify what is religious with what is national.

Discussing certain aspects of hostile activity from the position of nationalism, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia noted on the basis of these and other data that this hostile activity is increasing throughout the republic. The enemy's activity from the positions of Albanian, Serbian, Muslim, Hungarian, and also other nationalisms have been proved.

The hostile activity from the positions of Serbian nationalism has recently been increasingly more openly manifested through various, sometimes also organized forms and methods of activity. In spite of interrupting and suppressing the open and aggressive counterrevolutionary activity, the hostile activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism continues to be characterized by the organization and strengthening of illegal work, its consolidation and the preparation for a longer period, as well as by gathering all hostile groups operating on the same basis.

The hostile activity from the positions of Muslim nationalism is particularly expressed in those environments in which Muslim or mixed population prevails. The influence on Muslim nationalism from certain Islamic countries on the bases of pan-Islamism should also not be underrated. There are also phenomena of Hungarian nationalism, which are sometimes accompanied by verbal statements, which also contain a feature of irredentism. One must also not ignore all other nationalism and the possibility of hostile activity from these positions.

MACEDONIAN ASSEMBLY EXAMINES TIES WITH NEIGHBORS

LD222303 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Skopje, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- At separate sessions today, the delegates of the Macedonian Assembly discussed the topical questions of relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and neighboring countries, and Macedonia's participation in these relations. It was reported that in an extensive debate the interests of Yugoslavia, and therefore also of Macedonia, was stressed in promotion of relations and in meaningful and long-term cooperation with all neighboring countries. Proceeding from the fact that problems in mutual relations act as a brake on good-neighborly cooperation, the delegates stressed the efforts that Yugoslavia, and Macedonia as part of it, were investing to overcome this situation and resolve the problems and the so-called outstanding issues, and do so in mutual interest and to reciprocal advantage. These efforts that we are constantly making are a consequence mainly of the SFRY's foreign policy, which is based on well-known principles.

It was also said during the discussion that the official stands of some neighboring countries, for instance of Albania and Bulgaria, are introducing additional negative elements that restrict and worsen the situation both in bilateral relations and in the Balkan area. The delegates unanimously evaluated that Albania's meddling in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, its support for irredentism and nationalism, and the territorial claims made against parts of the country -- despite Yugoslavia's interest and desire to promote relations and cooperation -- do not represent fertile soil for any kind of development of these relations. Anxiety was also expressed at the harmful anti-Yugoslav and anti-Macedonian behavior in Bulgaria, which is affecting the state of relations between the two countries. The substance and form of this behavior are assuming the nature of unconcealed territorial claims against our country.

Regarding cooperation with neighboring Greece, it was noted that during all the meetings and talks between representatives of the two countries, the Yugoslav side had energetically raised the question of settling the existing problems in mutual relations, including a change of attitude and behavior of all the factors in this neighboring country toward the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Delegates of the Macedonian Assembly reached the conclusion that the SFRY, and in the same framework the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, should continue to make an effort to promote and expand relations and cooperation with all neighboring countries.